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THE LIFE
OF
FATHER THOMAS COPLEY

A FOUNDER OF MARYLAND

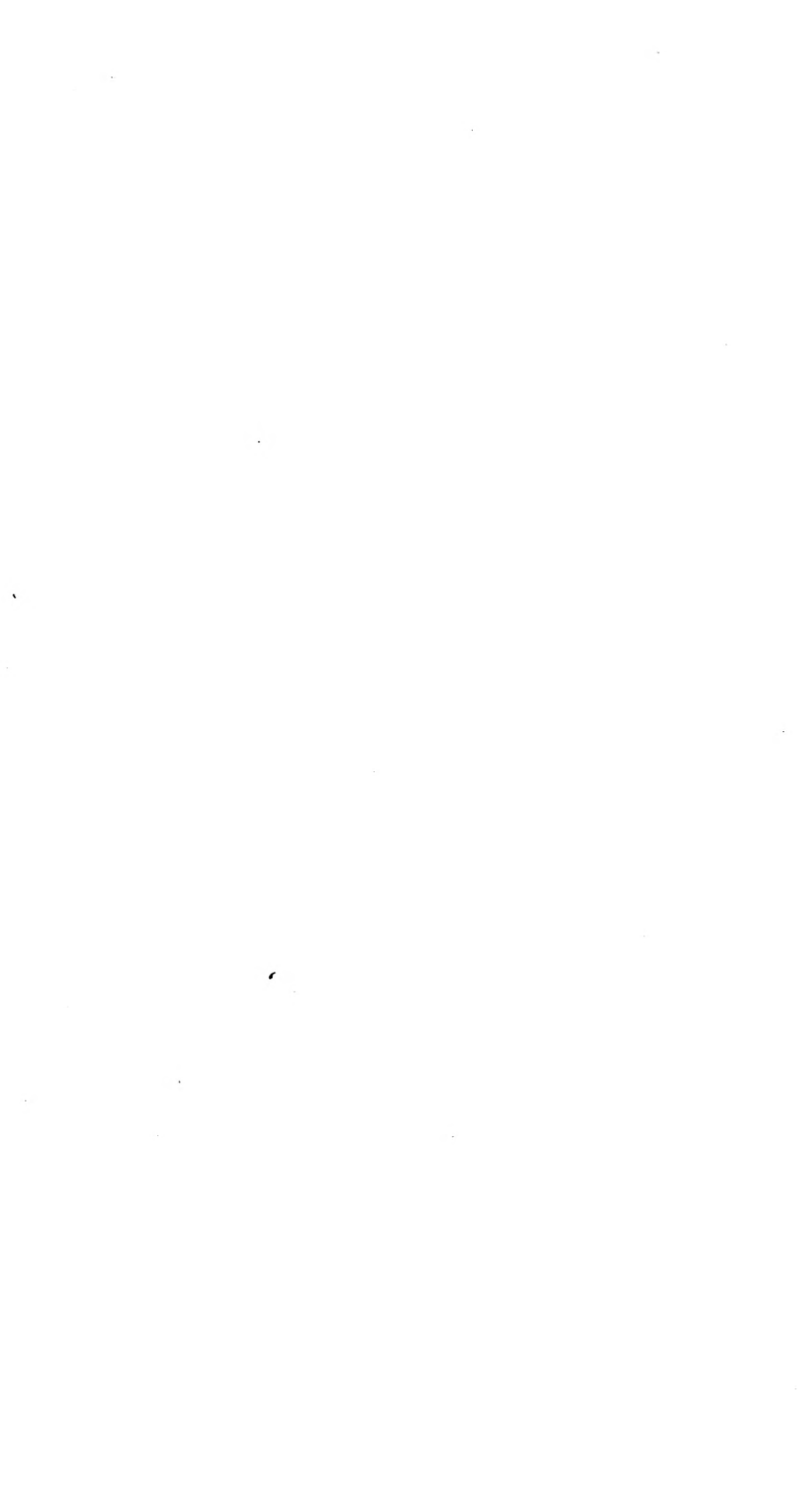
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BY MRS KATHERINE C. DORSEY

OF GEORGETOWN, D C

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LIFE OF FATHER THOMAS COPLEY.

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CHAPTER I.

The Copley Family.

Among the pious and devoted Jesuits, who, at the command of the Father General, two hundred and fifty years ago, turned their faces westward, and accompanied or followed the Catholic pilgrims to that "new found land of Jesus," Maryland, one of the most energetic and efficient was Father Thomas Copley. Among the English gentlemen who gathered around the council table of Governor Calvert none ranked higher in birth and fortune than Thomas Copley, Esquire. Yet of him little is known; he is not even mentioned by Oliver, and Foley, in his "Records of the English Province," suggests that Copley was an *alias* of White or Altham. In histories of Maryland his name only occurs as one of the early missionaries. One writer, Street-er, somewhat puzzled by the distinction invariably accorded to him by the Annapolis Records, naively inquires "how a Jesuit could be an esquire," though even he would have acknowledged that the kinsman of Elizabeth of England had

a right to that title, in spite of his having relinquished a high position for the priest's robe, and exchanged an ancient patrimony in England for plantations in the new colony which are still held by his successors. Here he faithfully sowed that others might reap, turning not back for the years that were given him; and when his work was done, here he lay down to rest.

In the attempt to gain some knowledge of the fortunes of this neglected founder, we have learned something of the lives of his father and grandfather; men whose fate was so strangely shaped by intense loyalty to that faith for which he sought an asylum, that they are well worthy to be remembered, even if their history had not thrown new and unexpected light on that of Maryland.

When, in 1558, Elizabeth ascended the throne of England, few untitled families ranked higher, or possessed greater wealth, than that of which Thomas Copley of Gatton, Leigh Grange, Raughley, Colley, Manor of the Maze in Southwark, and Mersham Park, was head. Through one ancestress he claimed the barony of Welles, through another that of Hoo, and was related through them to the Queen herself. Both Burleigh and Walsingham, her trusted counselors, were his kinsmen; so that it seemed no one had a fairer outlook, could he only have gotten rid of his troublesome conscience and his Catholic mother. She was Elizabeth Shelley, daughter of Sir William Shelley of Michelgrove, Sussex, Judge of the Common Pleas; one who stood high enough in the favor of Henry VIII to be sent by him to Esher, in order to wring from Wolsey, then about to fall, a grant of York House, known afterwards as Whitehall. Wolsey demurred, saying he had no power to alienate the possessions of the church, and that "the judges should put no more in the king's head than that law which may stand with conscience." Judge Shelley replied, "that having regard to the king's great power it may better stand with conscience, who is sufficient to recompense the church of York with double the value." Knowing well the character of his Majesty, Wolsey must have felt how small was the chance

that the see of York would again receive this bread, cast into the fathomless waters of royal rapacity. However, the King got Whitehall—and granted to Sir William the Manor of Gatton in Surrey, as a *pour boire* after his journey. This place, celebrated in reform days for its rotten borough, is within eight miles of London; and had been held in early times by Sir Robert de Gatton, for the extraordinary service of marshal of twelve maidens who waited in the royal kitchen. Its lords had gone crusading and otherwise extinguished themselves, and it had fallen to the crown, to be regranted in this wise. Sir William Shelley settled it on his daughter at her marriage with Sir Roger Copley; as well as Leigh, a moated grange, one of the few in England that still retain their ancient character. Willing as Sir William Shelley showed himself to drag down the too powerful Wolsey, he seems to have shrunk back as the evil qualities of Henry developed themselves, and “in Lord Cromwell’s time passed storms and with great loss” as we learn from a letter of his son, Sir Richard, preserved in the Harleian Library. His whole family seem to have clung with unshaken fidelity to the Church; his eldest son, Sir William of Michelgrove, for presenting a respectful petition of his co-religionists to Elizabeth, was thrown into the Tower and died there; Sir Richard, another son, was the last Turcopelier of St. John of Jerusalem. This great office was equivalent to that of general of cavalry, turcoples being the light horse in the holy wars, and was always borne by English knights, the conventual bailiff of that language alone bearing the title, and the Grand Master only being above him. Sir Richard was a favorite of Cardinal Pole and the trusted friend of the noble La Valette, whose battles he shared, and so high was his character, that even Elizabeth, though she deprived him of his estates and drove him into exile, employed him in 1581 in negotiations with France; which he conducted so successfully, that he had leave to return, though it does not appear that he ever did so. Sir Richard on this occasion, caused a medal to be struck, an engraving of which is given in the *Gentleman’s Magazine* for 1785. On one side is his own noble face, on

the reverse a griffin, his crest, with the motto, "Patriæ sum excubitor opum."

Holding so high a place in a great order, the Lord Prior seems to have exercised a controlling influence in his family, several other members of which joined it during his time; and we have dwelt on his career thus long, because it seems to have been an important factor in determining that of the Shelleys, Copleys, Gages, and Southwells, all of whom were connected with him. Lady Copley, besides her only son Sir Thomas, had three daughters; one of whom, Bridget, married to Richard Southwell of St. Faith's in Norfolk, is said to have been a very learned lady, and Latin instructress to the cruel Queen, who afterwards condemned to torture and to death her son, Robert Southwell, S. J. poet, priest and martyr.

CHAPTER II.

Persecution and Exile.

Thomas Copley was a Protestant in the reign of Mary, perhaps influenced by his relationship to Elizabeth. In March, 1558, sitting then doubtless for his borough of Gattton, he incurred the displeasure of the House of Commons for "irreverent words against Queen Mary,"⁽¹⁾ and was committed to the sergent-at-arms, in whose custody he still was when the house adjourned soon after. He then went abroad, and was in France when Mary died; for the Commissioners she had sent to treat for the recovery of Calais, dispatched him to Elizabeth with letters of congratulation, for which she told him "she owed him a good turn." We shall see hereafter how she kept her word. Standing thus well with her majesty, and holding high hopes for the future, Thomas Copley, not yet twenty-three years old, bestirred himself about his marriage. He seems at first to have turned his eyes towards a daughter of Howard of Effingham, but ultimately chose Catherine, one of the daughters and co-

⁽¹⁾ Journals of the House, 7 & 8 of March, 1558.

heiresses of Sir John Lutterel of Dunster, Somersetshire, "who was handsomer," says her granddaughter in the Chronicle of St. Monica. In the Loosely MSS.⁽¹⁾ there is a letter from the bridegroom, asking from the Master of the Revels the loan "of masques," etc., for the wedding, which he says "is like to take place in an ill houre" for him, whence it would seem he already presaged evil. Indeed, it is said that the Lord Chamberlain, Howard, never forgave the slight his daughter had received, nor ceased to use his influence with Elizabeth, to whom he was related, until he had driven Copley into exile. However, in 1560, the Queen still smiled on him, for in that year she became godmother to his eldest son, to whom she gave her father's name, Henry. Copley, in a letter written long afterwards, says that at this period he "indulged in costly building, chargeable music, and such vanities as my age delighted in:" no doubt ruffling it with the best, and displaying the splendor then expected from a gentleman of ample estate, who quartered the arms of Hoo, Welles, Waterton, Shelley, Lutterel, and a dozen more.⁽²⁾ No further record is found until 1568, when he obtained Mersham Park, an estate of about twelve hundred acres in Surrey, which had belonged to the Priory of Christchurch, Canterbury, and then to that greedy spoiler of church lands, Sir Robert Southwell, who this year had leave to alienate it to Thomas Copley—now a Catholic. He at once settled it on his wife and children.

It is probable that the change in his religious opinions had taken place some time before this period. St. Monica's Chronicle says it was brought about by reading controversial works; perhaps the belief was latent in him and became apparent as the policy of the government toward those of the old faith displayed itself; he being tolerant to a degree singularly remarkable for those days. He was nevertheless willing to endure all things rather than renounce or conceal the least of those things he believed essential. Perhaps the loss of his mother, who died in 1560, may have drawn him to-

⁽¹⁾ Edited by Kempe, London, 1830.

⁽²⁾ Manings Hist. of Surrey, England.

wards the religion of her family. That the change must have been known soon after this event is certain :— for he speaks of “six years of imprisonment patiently borne,” — and “of troubles with the Lord Chamberlain and broils with the Archbishop of Canterbury about religion”— in a letter the date of which fixes the fact as about that time.

An hour dark for him and for many others was at hand ; in 1569, the discontent, arising from the imprisonment of Mary Stuart, and other causes, broke into a storm ; the North was in a flame, the great Earls arose ;— and for the last time, the “half moon” of Percy, the “dun bull” of Neville gathered together men in battle array. But the power of the feudal lords was gone, and the rebellion was suppressed, but not before the county of Durham was almost turned into a desert ; whilst the roads leading to Newcastle were dotted with gibbets on which hung by twos and threes the bodies of gentlemen who had taken part in it. It does not appear that Copley had the least hand in this revolt ; nor does he seem ever to have favored the claims of Mary Stuart, or to have been accused of doing so. The outbreak may have intensified the suspicion with which all recusants were regarded, and there may have been an intention of recommitting him to prison, of which he had a hint before he took that step which he never was to retrace.

We have been unable to find the exact date of his departure from England, but we learn from himself, that having written to the Queen and her council his reasons for not waiting for their license to dwell abroad, he escaped beyond seas.

In 1570 information is given to Burleigh that “Copley and Shelley are at Louvain.”—There is a curious “acompte” published in *Collectanea Topographica*, Vol. 8th, kept by Donald Sharples, an agent of Mrs. Copley for some property settled on her, belonging to the Maze in Southwark—itemizing various articles bought :

“On 11th Nov. 1569, To Robert Bowers blacksmythe and gonne maker, for a gonne called a fyer-locke piece for Mr. Copley, 40s.” whilst the next entry is for “sealing threde

and a quier of Venis paper for my mistress." Perhaps at that time Copley was preparing for his departure, and his wife got some Venis (Venice) paper so that she might let her lord know how things were falling out at home. There are evil rumors abroad—the Lord Chamberlain and divers other gentlemen of the court have solicited his lands for themselves, but only for his life-time, he having made settlements on his family which prevented their forfeiture. On the 1st of February, the year then ending at Lady's Day—25th of March—Mrs. Copley comes from Gatton to look into this; perhaps, if the worse shall come to the worst, to prepare for another flitting. She was a capable woman seemingly, and able to take care not only of herself, but of the numerous family, five or six children, thrown on her hands. She lodges at "the house of Mr. Whyte," citizen and merchant tailor in Bow Lane, one of her tenants, and does some shopping, besides attending to more important business in the matter of fines and indictments. Among other things she buys "a grammar booke for master Henry, covered and past in lethare—3s. 2d," also "a new boke made by one of the Temple against the Rebels—4s.;" more important still "a copy of commission to inquire of the lands and goodes of such persons as have gone over seas without the Q^s M^{tes} Lycense and for serche thereof—9d."

She also bought "a reade goat skyne" and had it dyed and dressed to make "jerkens for Maister Henrie and Mr. William"; that of "Maister Henrie" was adorned with "a dozen of buttons of Gold and a velvet girdle," but Mr. William being a younger son, had only "a leatherne girdle."

On the 24th of February "a wagoyne" came from Gatton and Mrs. Copley went home in it, seemingly in bad weather; she "paid for packneedles and packthrede to sowe the blewe clothe about the wagoyne 2d.;" and she gave before her departure to "Mysteres Whyte, her maydes, to Jelyon 12d., and to the other Maid 6d."

Soon the blow fell, ⁽¹⁾ Howard of Effingham swooped down

⁽¹⁾ Chronicle of St. Monica in possession of Augustines of Abbotsligh, England,

on Gatton. Elizabeth had delivered her cousin as a prey to his hand, and stripped the stately hall of its armor, several hundred suits having been carried off, whilst Copley's books were carted away to Oxford. Mrs. Copley joined her husband. This journey took place in 1571, for in 1572, Sharples paid "to Mr. Page the post, for bringing letters from my mysteres being beyond seas to my Ld. of Burley, Ld. Treasurer, 2d.": it may be the very letter we are about to give, which is found in the D. *E. P.* of Elizabeth edited by Bruce. It is dated Antwerp, Dec. 26th, 1572, enclosing one to the Queen which deserves insertion, if only to contrast its manly tone with the sickening adulation of the epistles addressed to her by Leicester, Hatton, and Raleigh. Copley in his letter to Burleigh says:

The times are so much against him that he has no hope of justice; flies to him for aid and encloses letter to the Queen, thus going to the well-head. If Burleigh is unwilling to move in it, hopes he will give license to his servant, Donald Sharples, to present it, and hopes Burleigh will get an answer to it. He gives as his reasons for seeking Burleigh's assistance; "first his wisdom, incorruptibility and temperance;" secondly, the union of their houses—"tho' your house is now weighty, it can never be stronger by the fall of mine;" thirdly, his ability with her Majesty to defend him from wrongdoing. He says he "has not had one penny from England, since May 1571"—that he "is 400*£* in debt, it having grown by forbearing, for love of Prince and country, to accept foreign pensions," but that the time may come when it may be wished that so honest a subject had been retained. "If the rigor of that strange statute lately made should be executed, yet would my wife enjoy a third of my living," and that he has offered the Queen 100*£* instead during his absence.—His letter to Elizabeth we give in full:

"If my innocency had been a sufficient defense against my slanderous enemies, I would not trouble you, but hearing through this night's post of the three prosecutions against me, with a new charge for property in Southwark the 11th of this Dec., and returnable by the 10th of the next month

unless you order otherwise, I presume to offer you 100*£* a year. I hope you will rather take it directly from me, than through the perjury of the jurymen who may award it to you. Your profit or safety is not the mark they regard, but rather their insatiable desire to enrich themselves with my spoil. My conversation was peaceable at home: during the twelve years of my chargeable and faithful service to you in my poor calling, I never omitted in any public charge ought that might tend to encourage to love and wish the continuance of so happy a government under so gracious a Queen. How far I have been from entering into practices since my coming here, may appear in that I have never been to court, never saw the Duke and never treated with him. Though since May twelvemonth I have never received a penny of my country, yet I have forborne a foreign service, till necessity, which has no law, shall force me to the contrary. I have on my hands — which I trust will move you to the more compassion for my estate—my poor wife and seven small children, of whom my eldest son, not yet twelve years of age, is your godson and dedicated to you; and if the advices be true which I receive from the University of Douay, where he is brought up, he may prove in time to do you and his country good service. My zeal and dutiful affection to you have abundantly appeared, being so great as, though God reduced me back from the errors whereunto my unskilful youth was misguided, to the embracing of the true Catholic faith, yet never could I enter into any practices or conspiracy against you, whom I beseech our Lord long to preserve. If nine enemies object that I am not worthy of such favor as to remain by license, having departed without it, I did nothing therein unlawful; for the law of nature teacheth every creature to flee from imminent peril. The law of nations permits every free man to go where he lists, and therefore that wise gentleman, the Duke of Alcala, late Viceroy of Naples, making sport with the simplicity of a silly gentleman that sued for license to go forth of the kingdom, asked him whether he was a man or a horse. If he were a horse, then there was indeed re-

straint on him, but if he were a man, he might bestow himself where he listed. Further, the very laws of England, by a special proviso in that old servile statute, gave me liberty to pass and repass the seas at pleasure, being free of the staple; though I have chosen to live after my better calling.

Yet had I not attempted to come without license, considering the general restraint of that old act, if the malicious practices of mine enemies had not overtaken me, denying me leisure to follow such a suit, unless I would have tarried with manifest hazard at my departure, as I signified by letter both to you and to the council, being sorry for any act that might betoken offence to you.

I trust that these causes will move you to compassion on my case and to set your authority for a buckler between me and my enemies, who seek my ruin and that of my house, without regard to the slander of the government by the note of injustice, and cruel peril of the precedent which may be withdrawn to the shaking of all estates and conveyances within the realm, or to any other respect to God or to you. In granting this license you shall save a jury of souls, stop the raving mouths of my greedy adversaries, and bind me, whom necessity is like otherwise to draw into foreign service, to be a loving subject and a faithful servant, which I trust to signify by some notable service, if you like to employ me in any cause wherein a good Christian may, without hazard to his body and soul, serve his temporal Prince.

Antwerp, 26 Dec. 1572."

It seems her Grace did condescend, in consideration of the hundred pounds, to become "a buckler;" at least, the property in Southwark remained in the hands of Mrs. Copley's agent, who continues the "acompte," paying on the 8th of Oct. 1573, "for a Proclamaçon made against certain bookes which came from beyond seas, 2^{ds}." Of one of these we shall hear further,—it is now known to have been written by Sir Nicolas Throgmorton, at the instigation of the Earl of Leicester; and in it both Burleigh and his cousin Bacon, the Lord Keeper, met with very severe treatment. They were accused of governing England by Machiavelli-

an policy, and it was charged that Burleigh had been "a creeper to the cross in Queen Mary's time." This, though strictly true, was a disagreeable reminiscence and as well forgotten. Also, rude things were said about their parentage; that it was not so high as that of Norfolk and Northumberland, lately sent to the scaffold. Copley, connected in some way with Lady Burleigh, through the Belknaps, is in the Low Countries where this vile book is published; through him we may find the author, perhaps put our finger on him. About this time, Mrs. Copley, attended by Thomas Brooke, secretary to her husband, slipped over to England to attend to her affairs. The "accompete" makes considerable mention of "a Mastiffe Dogge" which Brooke was appointed to take abroad with him. On the 13th of Oct. there was "carrage of a trunke, a great Fardell, and a chest from Mayster White, his house, to Belensgate, when my Mysteres went over seas, 6d." This time she went with license furnished her by my Lord Burleigh, for on the 26 of Nov. Copley writes a courteous letter to Dr. Wilson, the Queen's Ambassador, thanking him for that favor.⁽¹⁾ On this letter there is an endorsement—12th Dec.—that Wilson had seen Copley, and they had spoken of a book against Elizabeth's title and in favor of that of Mary Stuart. This Wilson at once communicates to Burleigh, saying that he had promised Copley "if he would bring it, and declare the author, he would be an humble suitor to the Queen for him." That he continued to hold out inducements is evident; on the 15 of Dec. 1574, Copley, answering his persuasions, "does not see how he can return to England without danger, the laws now standing as they do; but if his living is restored to him, is willing to give up his pension from the King of Spain, renounce his service, and serve the Queen." Wilson seems to have transmitted this letter to Burleigh, who, on the 28 of the same month, two years after Copley had begged his intercession with the Queen in the letter already given, answers it and others at

⁽¹⁾ S. P. English Foreign Affairs, Elizabeth.

great length, regretting that for religious scruples he should have left England, inquiring in the most innocent manner "the foundations of such a change," and asking if he knows "who is the author of a life lately published against himself and the Lord Keeper." Copley replies to this from Antwerp, 1575: he thanks him for allowing "his brother-in-law Gage⁽¹⁾ and his wife to come over and live here"; hopes Burleigh will not see him spoiled for seeking quiet of conscience; reminds him that in Germany princes use their subjects of whatever religion, and wishes "that some means were adopted to appease these miserable controversies that rend the world." Then deftly declining to answer arguments on religion, he promises not to favor the Queen's enemies. "As for the author of the book set forth against you and the Lord Keeper, in 1572, I am so unhappy as to be unable to tell you. I think the author knew my alliance to your house and that of Suffolk, and kept it from me as unlikely to allow it; I was one of the last that saw it, and I believe it was made at home. I have offered in company to defend you against any that should say you were not of gentle blood. If you suspect the author of the book, let me know, and I will put him to his purgation." Whence it would seem my Lord Treasurer found him a very unsatisfactory informer.

Further badgered by Wilson as "untrustful of the Queen's goodness and undutiful in not throwing himself on her mercy and returning home," and urged that he shall at least leave Antwerp and reside in some city in Germany, Copley, writing to Burleigh, March 5th, 1575, refuses to do this, on account of "its distance from England and the grossness of its language, which he neither understands nor wishes to understand." He says further that during his first year of service he has gained a noble pension, and that the King of Spain is a father to him. "As long as I am entertained by him I will truly serve him." Still he wishes that "the Queen who has pardoned greater traitors would pardon one void

⁽¹⁾ Gage of Firle.

of offense, and allow him a portion without binding his services for a supply ;" he has seven children and expects an eighth.

CHAPTER III.

Foreign Service.

It has been seen from Copley's letter to the Queen how reluctant he was to enter into the service of a foreign prince ; that such was his real feeling is evinced by the fact, that though greatly needing money for his large family, five years passed from the time of his arrival to his acceptance of Spanish aid, though his uncle, the Lord Prior, was all powerful at that court, and the Duke of Alva, who ruled the Low Countries with an iron rod when he sought refuge there, would have gladly received him. His supplications to the Queen and ministers treated with profound indifference, Copley seems to have held out as long as he could ; at last "*venter non habet aures*" he writes, and in 1574, Burleigh inscribes in his list⁽¹⁾ of pensioners of the King of Spain, "Mr. Copley, 60 ducats a month." Then he becomes an object of the deepest interest : Dr Wilson indites letters to him, the Lord Treasurer renews his former friendship and takes an interest in the state of his soul, and his informers begin to busy themselves with Copley's concerns. Sept. 3rd, 1574, Edward Woodshawe,⁽²⁾ a hardened villain, who had been Count Egmont's servant thirty five years, obliged by his execution to return to England, where he was forced by the parcimony of his relatives—he "who was brought up like a gentleman not knowing want"—to break into a house, steal twenty pounds and return to the Low Countries, writes from Antwerp to Burleigh that "Mr Copley is in great favor with the New Governor," Requesens, Commendatore of Castile, who succeeded Alva in 1573, "but has not much knowledge of martial affairs: he ex-

⁽¹⁾ Strype's History; *Appendix*.

⁽²⁾ S. P.—Foreign Affairs,

amines every Englishman who comes over, and sends all but Catholics away ; he has sent Phillips away, and says he ought to be hung." This remark shows that Copley had a wonderful insight into character, for Phillips was Walsingham's private forger, who twelve years afterwards introduced into Mary Stuart's letters to Babington fatal expressions which sealed her doom.

Burleigh's object seems to have been to induce his wife's kinsman to betray the secrets of Philip's councils by promises of a restoration of property and other favors. His letters are not given in the S. P., but Copley's are. They are kind and friendly — his wife's portion might still be taken away, but he speaks always in one tone ; he will always honestly serve the king who supports him, whilst he is a true subject to his own prince. Ere long it was announced in England that the King of Spain had made him Baron of Gatton and Raughley and Master of the Maze, and given him letters of marque to prey on the commerce of the Dutch.

On the 17 of Nov. 1575, he writes to the Queen that he had heard from De Boiscot, newly arrived at Court, that she was offended with him for having drawn her mariners to serve the Catholic King ; and reminds her that she, from amity to Philip, had given De Requesens leave to do so ; and Copley, being aware of this, thought she would not object that he should take a commission from him, intending it only to apply of course to the (Dutch) rebels ; that he and his friends had dealt openly with the wherry-men of Sandwich to procure rowers for the new galleys, and that he had no thought of doing it without her knowledge. He had also heard that she was offended with him because he had taken greater titles than those belonging to him. The commission had only styled him "*Nobilis Anglus et dominus Gatton et Raughley.*" *Nobilis* was used for gentleman, as *generosus* meant a gentle Englishman and not an English gentleman. On the continent *armiger* means only a cutler or swordbearer ; and in Spain it was usual to call all nobles lords. "It is said I fish in troubled waters, but all the waters in Christendom are troubled by factions ; and I had much

rather fish in the calm rivers and sweet streams of my own country." Elizabeth, who "liked not her sheep marked with others' brands," was very indignant with Copley now—perhaps she was not pleased altogether with the lesson in Latin from her old teacher's brother—and expressed her sentiments in a letter to the Commendatore to which Burleigh told the Advocate Fiscal "he would not have consented had he known it, as Copley was related to his wife, and, but for preciseness of religion, an honest gentleman." This storm soon passed away, for letters from Spain to the Queen, to Burleigh, and others (perhaps captured in a Dutch ship), falling into his hands, Copley courteously forwarded them to those to whom they were addressed. In consequence of this favor, Gage and his wife had leave to return, and an intimation was extended to Copley that he might do the same, "as his fidelity was not doubted, only his course disliked." "Surely it is in vain the net is spread in the sight of any bird," he knew that his case was not like Gage's, for since he left England a law had been passed by which "I would have to yield myself to a bishop and renounce my religion, than which I would rather beg my bread," but he would gladly return if he could as a Catholic. All through the summer of 1586 the negotiation continued, Burleigh pretending that he is exerting every effort to obtain the recall of Copley. To secure this financial sacrifices seem to have been made, as Copley says he "is willing to give up his rents to enjoy security of person and quiet of conscience." In spite of the strong hints of his correspondent, he imparts no information, though towards the end of July he shows that he sees through the design of those who are trifling with him, "that no drop of mercy falls," and that he "is being punished by God for youthful errors."

After the death of the Commander in 1576, the Spanish soldiers, whose pay had long been withheld, broke out into violent mutiny, took and plundered Alost, Lierre, and other cities, and even threatened Antwerp itself. Jerome de Roda, the only one of the state council who had escaped out of Brussels to Antwerp, claiming to be sole Governor of

the Netherlands, assumed the chief authority in that ill-fated city, where there seems to have been, for some time before the final day of wrath, forebodings of the coming storm. Copley, who up to this time had resided there with his family, writes on the 11th of Oct. from Lierre, where "he lodges with one of the court," to Burleigh, explaining that the report of his having been arrested in Antwerp for attempts in favor of the King of Spain was untrue. De Roda had asked him to raise and command a company of his own countrymen, but he had refused; though he had offered to serve with his own servants to show he was not afraid and willing to serve the King. He had lately heard from the Lord Prior, "who will soon be over for freer talk" — and rejoices "for freedom of conscience in the midst of garboils."

On the 3rd of Nov., three weeks afterwards, Antwerp was stormed and taken by the mutineers with all the horrors then attending the reduction of a city—"the Spanish Fury" it was long called, — and great cause had Copley for gratitude that those dear to him were in safety. On the 29th of December, an informer writing from Luxemburg, says, "Mr. Copley is here, who seems to have no love towards her Majesty or his country." He had gone there no doubt, to wait on Don John, who arrived at that place, in the disguise of a Moorish slave, the day after Antwerp was stormed.

(To be continued.)

CHAPTER IV.

Hopes of Return.

There now comes a curious incident in the correspondence. In the beginning of 1576, De Requesens, who cultivated the friendship of Elizabeth, complying with her wishes ordered away all her exiled subjects; and Nevilles, Nortons and Markinfelds departed with their miserable dissensions, and hopeless plots to other places. Copley, of course, came under the same ban, but he found means to obtain from Elizabeth a letter to the Commendatore, desiring him to show favor to Thomas Copley who has done her good service, and is not of those traitors and rebels who have fled from the realm, but is abroad for his religion and liberty of conscience. She can not deny that he is ancientment of her blood, or that he has formerly honorably served her. The copy of this letter is in French, dated Hampton Court, Feb. 1576.

Folded with this in the State Papers as though it had relation to the same person, is a document without date or signature which bears a singular meaning when viewed in a light received from another quarter. The words it contains are these:

"I have spoken with your friend, whose answer is he can not send the bird until it is hatched. The hen has busily built her nest and sits fast; so sure as any of her eggs be disclosed, you shall have speedy advertisement, not by letter, but by a trusty messenger, whom I have already sent many miles hence to serve that turn. You must procure him a passport from that side, and I will take charge to do

the like from this. Here is more likelihood of peace than war."

Many years afterwards, John, the youngest son of Copley, joined the English College at Rome to study for the priesthood; and entered, as was usual, an account of his previous life in a book kept for that purpose. He says—"I was born at Louvaine in 1577; and nine days after my birth I was sent to England, where I was nursed and brought up until my ninth year." We learn from the same source that Richard Southwell of St. Faith's, in Norfolk, who had conformed, received his wife's nephew, this poor little waif whose passage seems to have been taken before his birth. There can be little doubt that Copley paid well for leave to send his child home, as he had before paid for his wife's portion.

By a comparison of dates it seems probable that the two brothers-in-law exchanged children, or perhaps, if Bridget Copley were living she had a hand in the matter. Robert, her second son, was then a bright boy of fifteen, but he can enter neither of the universities. His cousins, Henry, William and Peter, are doing well at Dr. Allen's new college, now at Rheims—may he not go there and be trained in the right path, as one of his uncle's children, while this small infant, whose soul is as yet as safe in one place as another comes to us here in Norfolk?

It is certain that Robert Southwell, born in 1562, went in his fifteenth year, 1577, to Douay; and that in later years, when foremost in merit and danger, he tenderly interested himself for a brother of this youth, Anthony, procuring him in 1586, through Cardinal Allen, a position in the English College at Rome, and a pension from the Pope, a favor most ungratefully requited.

A grave mistake has been made by those writers who have accused Thomas Copley of imparting information to the English government.⁽¹⁾ Strype after quoting from the letters we have given, says honestly, "his cause still hangs dubious, the Court still doubtful of him; but I find in 1577, Dr. Wilson still tampering with him." In fact, that ambas-

⁽¹⁾ Strype, Vol. 2.

sador writes to Burleigh from Brussels⁽¹⁾ in the spring of this year, that Mr. Copley has written him from Hoyer, but has not satisfied him, as Mr. Bingham made him believe he would; in April he says that he cannot get Mr. Copley to be plain enough with him; again that he "is so fearful and precise I cannot get any particulars out of him. Don John has had four posts from Spain, four from Rome, and two from the Emperor, yet Mr. Copley is ignorant of all these things."

The Court is at Louvain where Wilson proposes to go, perhaps to see what can be done in the way of false keys and bribery after the diplomatic manner of that time. On the 14th of April, Copley writes to Wilson from Louvain that he is sorry he makes so light of the information he has given him; it were easy to forge an untruth, but he will never do so to please any man; what he (Copley) says is true and what Wilson will needs persuade himself but causeless fears which some man has put into his head; and that there is no danger of a blow to their country. It must be remembered that the Netherlands though torn by civil wars were still at peace with England; the Dutch sought to gain the aid ultimately lent them, and the Governor's appointment by Spain to prevent England from taking sides with the enemy, made large concessions to her. Thus when Elizabeth's ministers found they could not bend Thomas Copley to their purposes, it was determined to secure his banishment from a land, where in spite of Beggar and Spaniard and Walloon, Catholic, Lutheran and Calvinist, struggling in a frightful chaos of blood and ruin—the exile wrote he "had found liberty of conscience and peace from garboils." On the 1st of May, 1577, Don John made his triumphal entrance into Brussels; on the 7th of that month Copley wrote from Louvain to Dr. Wilson, complaining that his servant, Brooks, on reaching England, had been taken and spoiled of all he had, and carried to Court, merely because he had taken some pictures, sent without Copley's knowledge by women and children to others at home. He

⁽¹⁾ S. P. Flanders.

remains in Louvain by His Highness' advice, as the Queen's ambassador had begged he should be sent out of the country. He does not care whether he stays or goes, but as long as he is entertained by the King of Spain he will truly serve him. This then was the reason that he gave up, almost from the hour of his birth, his youngest born—he at least shall breathe the native air and stretch his young limbs on English turf. Exiled from home, driven from Antwerp and now from Louvain, who can tell what dark hours, what dangerous travel, what pestilential air in beleagured cities is before them; so the little child, confided let us hope, to faithful hands, crosses the sea and all record of the father disappears from the State Papers for three years. We learn, however, from St. Monica's Chronicle that he retired with his family to France, having been recommended to Henry III. by De Vaux,⁽¹⁾ Don John's Secretary. Both Copley and his eldest son were knighted by that King. This Sir Henry Copley, own uncle to the Maryland founder, and said to have been a youth of singular promise, died at Paris of the pleurisy in the nineteenth year of his age.

Soon afterwards Copley, sorrowful and yearning more than ever for his native land, met Dr. Parry, one of Burleigh's peripatetic informers, a man of fathomless treachery, who was destined by a strange fate to meet the bloody death to which he had beguiled others. At that time he seemed merely a gentleman making the grand tour, a fashion set by the Earl of Oxford—"home staying youths have homely wits." This person, having frequented Copley's house, writes to his employer in 1580, commending in the highest terms Sir Thomas' dutiful speech of Her Highness and offering, if he is allowed to go home, to become security for his good behavior; mentioning the relationship between the exiled and the young Cecils, and concluding with, "in truth, my lord, there is nothing more apparent in the face and countenance of the whole household than to conform in the least to whatever I have written."

(1) Strype.

In the summer⁽¹⁾ of this year Copley himself wrote to Burleigh thanking him, for his favorable mind, conveyed through Parry, and arguing against withholding his title because conferred by a foreign king, when so many English titles are conferred on strangers. After expressing his desire for a restoration of the Queen's favor, he says in a postscript that as he cannot send a handsome present, he encloses him a pedigree of the Belknap side of his family. In this he showed a perfect appreciation of the favorite weakness of Elizabeth's favorite minister, who, despised by the ancient nobility as a new man, sought to attach himself, parasite like, to any old tree—if he could gain their living as well as claim their blood, why not? That many hours which he might have spent in unravelling plots, mostly of his own devising, were given to the fascinating amusement of drawing up tables, not only of his own descent but those of many other persons, is known to every one who has gone through the English State papers. Jessopp has shown in his "one Generation of a Norfolk House" how he tried to prove his affinity to the Walpoles, when the estates of that family were likely to fall to the crown, owing to recusancy and other charges against the heirs. The manors of the Copleys are broad, they count kin with many great names—even with Her Highness; if certain things should fall out it were well to keep the connection in view in behalf of Robert and the other hopeful Cecil inheritors!

This attention was well received. Soon after, Copley writes the Lord Treasurer that he takes advantage of Parry's going over to renew his suit, hoping that his wife, whom he intends shortly, to send home, will be received. It may be that the intercession of the Lord Prior, who this year secured from the Venetians important concessions for English merchants, obtained that favor; at any rate Donald Sharples made the final entry in the "Accompte" "1581—Delivered to My Mysteres, Mrs. Copley, at Mr. Whyte his

⁽¹⁾ English S. P. *Foreign Affairs*.—*France*

house, in Watlinge Strete at her last being here in Inglande, £ 20."

No doubt, Lady Copley had the happiness of embracing the infant she had not seen for three years; she was probably accompanied in this journey by another son, Peter, whom we find in 1580⁽¹⁾ writing from Paris to his father at Becton, that after a difficult journey they had reached France, that his brother had resumed his studies and they want money. This third son of Sir Thomas Copley became a priest; he is mentioned in the Douay list as having taken orders on his coming out of England in 1582, and having been sent back. He may have been the priest Fennell or Blithe "entertained" afterwards by "Lady Copley — young Shelley," but as John Copley said nothing of him when he gave his account at the English College, it is probable that he died before 1599.

Henceforth we lose sight of Burleigh; perhaps, Lady Copley discovered during her absence that no favors were to be expected from his cold, calculating temper, though it would seem that the dark fanaticism of Sir Francis Walsingham, to whom Copley now applied, offered even less prospect of success. It must be remembered, however, that in January, 1582, the Duke of Anjou was in England, and, to speak figuratively, on his knees before Elizabeth; rings had been exchanged and the whole world believed that as soon as the bridegroom should be invested with the sovereignty of the Netherlands, which had been offered him, their nuptials would take place; and though Campion and his companions were butchered during his love-making, that the more earnest among her reformed subjects might not be alarmed—a proceeding which Anjou viewed with profound indifference—it was highly probable that some relaxation to the Catholics might be expected should he once become her husband.

On the 3rd of January, 1581, Copley writes from Paris to his cousin, Lady Walsingham, acknowledging a letter received from her. Her husband, Sir Francis, was in Paris at

⁽¹⁾ Intercepted letter Eng. S.-P.

that time, having gone to France the July before⁽¹⁾ and "busied himself in looking for plots involving Catholics; not finding any he invented them, suborning false witnesses to swear to them. Burleigh seems to have been his accomplice in this proceeding;" so it was not about ribbons or gloves that his wife bethought herself of her good cousin. In this letter Copley says, referring to their connection: "There lived not, I think, a more good-hearted couple than my good father and my dear aunt, your grandmother; I have seen them both, old as they were, weep with joy when she sometimes came to Gatton." He then mentions that he had been twelve years deprived of his property, and though he has enough to live on, there is no overplus. He laments the dissensions among those "who believe in one God in three persons, which is the principal foundation," and concludes by asking her intercession with Sir Francis in obtaining leave for him and his family to return to England.

Walsingham for some reason flattered this hope and Copley believed that license to return would soon be granted him. In April he writes that he is going, with his wife's household, to remove to Rouen, there to await the Queen's decision, which if granted, his "case would be the more honorable, seeing the whole world is ringing with the vigorous persecution of the innocent Catholics." Surely only a bad courtier would have penned such lines while his cause hung undecided!

Later, after a letter from Sir Francis' secretary, comes an outburst of loyalty, a declaration that he loves the Queen dearly and had never imputed the hard dealings used to him to her, but to one whom God would not suffer to live to enjoy such benefit of his livelihood as he hoped—God forgive us all!

All this time Copley was in the service of the King of Spain, though he seems to have obtained leave of absence from the Prince of Parma, then engaged in reducing Oudenarde. The very day that place fell, July the 5th, Sir

⁽¹⁾ *Simpson's Life of Edmund Campion, S. J.*

Thomas writes Walsingham that his "absence from the Low Countries, dutiful speeches of the Queen, and open hope of being recalled," have already caused him to lose credit "which it is time to repair, lest between two stools I fall to the ground;" and after reciting all his claims on the Queen, including their relationship through the Bullyns, begs that whatever is done for him may be done quickly. To induce dispatch, he sends *according to promise* an annuity of £100 a year from the Manor of Gatton to Lady Walsingham "while I shall by your means be permitted to remain abroad"—the greater desire being now abandoned. Whilst this correspondence was going on and the heartsick exile was deluded with false hopes of return, it seemed to Walsingham that it would be well to know what visitors were entertained by him in Rouen. "William Smith who had lived nine years in St. Paul's church yard" was accordingly sent over and obtained admission to Copley's service. Having been in it five months, he informs his employer that "to Lord Copley's house resort Lord Stourton's brother, Browne, Vaux, Talbot, Tichborne and Pounce," that audacious nephew of the Earl of Southampton, who, but a little while before, had published Campion's bold challenge to the Privy Council. The spy corroborates the statements of his master's expectations from England being known and that though "he is going to the Low Countries, it is thought he will lose his pension."

CHAPTER V.

Disappointment and Death.

In the spring of 1583, Copley still lingering in Rouen, beguiled by Walsingham, wrote, "Hope deferred makes the heart sick; fourteen years is a long time for a man to be kept out of his own." By accounts lately sent of his wife's poor portion, he finds it diminished, whilst not three days since, he had a schedule of twenty pistoles more a month of entertainment sent him without any solicitation. He finds those abroad are as loath to lose him as his own country to help him; yet if the Queen will restore him his reve-

nue he will bestow every penny on her and his friends in England! In May of this year, William, now heir of Sir Thomas Copley, joined the Prince of Parma at Tournay which city he had lately taken after a brilliant defense under the Princess Espinoy. This youth, then in his nineteenth year, was well received by Alexander Farnese and had a grant of fifteen crowns a month; but could not obtain another year's leave of absence for his father, who is recalled to the camp. This fact Sir Thomas imparts to Walsingham, saying that "it is better to have lack of living with liberty, than living without it at home—nay, as matters are now handled of both, if it be true that twenty £s a month is exacted of all Catholics. I tremble when I think what consequences such hard dealings are like to breed." He now believed with his friends that he deceived himself in hoping for any good unless he went to England; which he dared not do "for fear of Morris, the pursuivant, and his mates, at whose mercy I would be loath to stand; it is better to sue for grace here than at home in a dungeon."

All prospect of the profligate Anjou's wearing the crown matrimonial of England was at an end; after having broken faith with both religions and all parties, he was tried as constitutional duke of Brabant, grew weary of the checks imposed upon him; and, attempting an unsuccessful coup-d'état in Antwerp, was driven from that city to die, not long afterwards at Chateau Therry, "with strong symptoms of poison"—as became a Valois. If the Catholics ever cherished hopes of alleviation of their miseries through him they were over; and Walsingham seems to have deemed it no longer useful to treat with one, who, while suing for grace, had the boldness to hold language like this, and to be friends with the outlawed friends of Campion; as to his revenues what use to grant them to him to live on abroad when they will serve the servants of the Lord at home? Therefore, "all favors are withheld until he returns home and throws himself on the Queen's mercy"—the quality of which Copley knew too well; he writes to Sir Francis in courteous and dignified terms thanking him for his good will though

it has not been able to do him any good; imputing his ill success to the error of his own youth towards God, not to any offense against Her Highness.

He had received an intimation that he should spend no more Spanish crowns in France, nor have one penny more out of Flanders until he returned to his place about the Prince of Parma's person. He will remain at St. Omers until Antwerp or Bruges are reduced and he will trouble Walsingham no more. The date of this last letter is July 1583; on the 24th of September, 1584, Sir Thomas Copley died in Flanders in the service of the King of Spain, an upright, loyal English gentleman who, had "liberty to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience" been granted him, ^{he} might have served his country as faithfully as Raleigh and more honestly than Drake.

It is impossible to study Copley's letters without forming a very high opinion of his character: of his devotion to his religion there can be no doubt, for professions of Catholicity to Burleigh and Walsingham were not likely to be insincere. Whilst this may recommend him to those who agree with him, his honesty of purpose and manliness of nature should command the respect of all who value those qualities. Driven by persecution into exile, plundered of his possessions, he remembers that he is an Anglo-Saxon freeman deprived of his rights, and represents his wrongs to the Queen in words which have a far-off sound of Hampden or Henry. Comparing his language to her with that used by the subservient slaves who trembled at her glance and stabbed themselves when she frowned, we feel the superiority of this banished Catholic; he is reclaiming his own unjustly withheld in words which might be used to-day; they became as worms beneath her feet ~~compared with~~ ^{to} a forfeited manor or a new monopoly. Though he desired above earthly things to return home and was willing in all things to render to Cæsar that which belonged to him, he steadily refused "to undertake more than as a good Christian he can perform:" dear are the wide walls of Leigh and the fertile fields of Gatton; still dearer is a man's soul which he *must* save;

nor through all those years of exile when "no drop of mercy fell" could he be lured to betray the king whose bread he ate;—others might be won to such baseness, but not for him was the vile trade of the informer. He lived for years surrounded by the adherents of Mary Stuart, yet his loyalty to Elizabeth as his rightful Queen was never doubted; indeed to the last he entertained an affection for her sufficiently surprising when we consider the treatment he received. His confidence that ultimately "her virtuous conscience," as he called it, would recognize the wrong done him and recall him, is constantly expressed and is pathetic when we remember how little she had of either quality.

But one characteristic impresses us more strongly than any of these—a consciousness, that came to him far ahead of the times when driven to seek the protection of Philip and Alva, that it might be possible for men of different religions to live together in peace; his soul sickens over the contentions that rend the world; his eyes turn admiringly towards "the Emperor of Germany who uses his subjects of both faiths." "Why," he asks of a statesman incapable of rising to such a height, "should we, who believe in one God in three persons, persecute each other about matters of less importance?"

Fifty years afterwards a handful of men, of whom his own grandson and namesake was one, proclaimed perfect religious toleration to all Christian sects on an isolated spot in the New World, with a result well known, it being highly probable that his transmitted teaching greatly influenced that act. The younger Thomas Copley had, as will be proved, far more share than has been supposed in the foundation of Maryland; and to the forgotten Confessor and neglected Jesuit we are indebted for "the act of Toleration." Sir Thomas Copley died in his forty-ninth year, not a fortunate man in the world's estimation, but happy he believed, in being able to retain "a conscience void of offense;" also happy that he died before things chanced as they ere long did, when he either would have been forced to abandon the King who had befriended him, or to meet with the Armada, English galleys set in battle array.

He left eight children; of his four daughters the eldest had married one of Parma's captain's, and another became the second wife, in 1585, at Dundalk, of Richard Stanihurst, the intimate friend of Campion; thus adding another link to the chain which bound the Copleys to the foremost martyrs of the faith in England. College companions at Oxford, they had gone together to Ireland where Stanihurst's father had been speaker of the House of Commons; and Campion's history of that country, and a contribution to Holinshed's history were long supposed to have been written by his friend. Stanihurst had some literary credit of his own; he was the first who attempted English hexameters, having published, 1583, a translation of the first four books of the *Æneid*. "He bussed his pretty prating parrot" is his way of expressing that Jupiter kissed his daughter. Both of Stanihurst's sons by Helen Copley became Jesuits; he on her death also took orders and died chaplain to Albert and Isabella in 1618.

CHAPTER VI.

The Family in England.

Lady Copley, who had Mersham Park, besides other property settled on her for life, returned to England with William, owner of Gatton and the other estates of his family, and Margaret, an unmarried daughter. Anthony is mentioned in the pilgrim book of the English College, as in Rome in 1584;—and soon after, as one of the students—while little John was still with his uncle Southwell at St. Faith's, though reclaimed by his mother on her return. The fall of 1586 was a season darker than usual to the unfortunate Catholics; worse than the insults, fines and imprisonment they were forced to endure were the evils brought upon them by that fated princess, shut up amongst them, and endowed with some strange power to draw the young, the noble and the gifted to their death—

"The bodies and the bones of those
Who sought in other days to pass
Were withering in the thorny close,
Or scattered bleaching in the grass;"



they saw them not, nor Gifford's treachery, nor Walsingham's wiles, but only one face fairer than that of which their Norse ancestors caught glimpses in the din of battle :—truly to them was Mary Stuart "a chooser of the slain." Among the youths implicated in Walsingham's conspiracy was Robert Gage, second son of Robert Gage of Haling, Surrey, a Catholic gentleman, who had been a member of Parliament. The young man had been ignorant of the attempt until after its discovery, but sought to assist the flight of his friends and was, as accessory after the fact, executed with more than usual barbarity at St. Giles in the Fields, on the 15th of September. Ten days before, his elder brother John had been arrested and committed to the Clink prison. Margaret Copley was also in custody at this time, and severely interrogated as to her knowledge of a person called Phipps,⁽¹⁾ now known to have been the Rev. Nicholas Smith who was also arrested; he owned that he lived at Gatton and was supported by Lady Copley, he being her kinsman; he had been to Gage's house the night before. The two young recusants who thus shared a common danger were, soon after their discharge, married and lived at Haling, as quietly as those evil times would permit, until 1590. They were then both arrested at a Mass said by the Rev. George Beesley, for which he was tried on the first and hung on the second of June. Gage and his wife were also condemned and, after two years imprisonment, drawn to the gallows in a cart with their hands ignominiously tied, but received a respite and were not further punished except by deprivation of goods.⁽²⁾ He was imprisoned in the Tower; and in the Broad Arrow tower, between the first and second recess, is shown a long Latin inscription, consisting partly of biblical texts and partly of reflections on the last day, made it is supposed in expectation of death, most ingeniously cut, and signed by him.

Haling, with about five hundred pounds a year, was granted to Howard of Effingham, son of him who had spoil-

(1) D. S. P.

(2) Brayley's Tower of London.

ed Copley; nor was it ever restored—Gage and wife were long forced to live on the charity of their friends, Gage of Firle, doubtlessly assisted by Lady Copley. They were the parents of Sir Henry Gage, Governor of Oxford, who fell at Culumbridge fighting for Charles I, and of several other sons who were priests.

This year there landed on the coast of Norfolk, Robert Southwell; he had been known at Douay as "the beautiful auburn boy;" and was now a man, who, at any period, would have won distinction; as poet, in beauty of rhythm and wealth of imagery he bears a close resemblance to Shelley; strange to say, they were descended from a common ancestor. His birth, education and accomplishments entitled him to a place amongst those brilliant men who have lent such splendor to the reign of Elizabeth; yet not to bow at her shrine, or to rival them in love or war had this young hero, generous, brave, unselfish, returned. It was to redeem the pledge given five years ago by Campion, to lurk in garret chambers and false chimneys during the day; to go forth at night to bury the dead, to comfort the dying, to strengthen the weak; often not knowing where to rest his head on which a price was set as that of a wolf; and to meet at last shameful tortures and a horrible death with a fortitude and courage almost incredible.

From the first, he, as well as his Superiors, had recognized the future before him, and he easily obtained a position as a scholar of the Pope and a pension for his cousin, Anthony Copley, at the English College, who requited this kindness by becoming a spy for Burleigh. A list of Englishmen in Rome transmitted by him may be found in the fourth volume of Strype's Memorials; and unpublished letters of the same character relating to Spain and Flanders are said to exist in the Lansdowne MSS. However, the other members of his family seemed to have been regarded with great suspicion at that time; we find "William Copley of Gatton⁽¹⁾ committed to the charge of Anthony Radcliffe, Alderman of London, until the Council return from Fotheringay."

⁽¹⁾ D. S. P.

who reports to Davidson that his prisoner "is very tractable and he thinks may be easily won to be a good Christian." This hopeful young man was far enough from realizing such expectations; for on becoming of age, he found that to enjoy his estate he would have to take the oath of supremacy; to avoid which, he let it at small leases, took fines in their place and escaped to Flanders "with only one servant," noted as a rare instance of self-denial at a time, when men of rank were surrounded by many retainers.

CHAPTER VII.

Marriage of William Copley.

There lived at that time in Louvain an English family esteemed on the continent for high cultivation and venerated for their intimacy with one of the greatest men of that century.

Margaret Griggs, who married a gentleman named Clements, had been the intimate friend of Margaret Roper and an inmate of the cultured household of Sir Thomas More; he had always greatly regarded her, and a few days before his tranquil passage to the scaffold he sent to her a mysterious package, the haircloth shirt which, unknown to others, he had long worn, but which he had confided to her. She remained long enough in England to assist the Carthusians of Sion House, each chained to a post and starved to death in prison, to the roof of which she gained access and let down food to them until discovered and prevented by their jailors; she then escaped abroad. Of her daughters, Winifred, who married Sir William Rastall, nephew and biographer of Sir Thomas More, is said by Fuller "to have been an exact Grecian;" to Margaret, Prioress of the Augustine nuns of St. Ursula, Louvain, she gave the relic of the Chancellor which is now at Abbotsleigh, England. Helen, a third daughter, became the wife of Thomas Prideaux of Devonshire, who seems, from letters of that time, to have acted as lawyer for his fellow refugees in the courts of Flanders. To this couple was born an only daughter Magdalen;

"who was brought up at her aunt's convent ; she was finely educated, had the Latin tongue perfect, also poetry, was skillful in painting and of good judgement and powers," says St. Monica's chronicle. On reaching maturity, she was taken by her father to Spain and met William Copley there. Father Holt, writing in 1589 from Brussels to Cardinal Allen in Rome, says he has had a letter from Sir Francis Englefield in Madrid, who says that "the bans between young Copley and Mistress M. Prideaux were asked on Candlemas day ; he has more need of wit than a wife in these troublesome times—but youth will have its swing," adds the good priest. Thus it would seem that the mother of our Maryland founder had not degenerated from the attainments of those who had preceded her, nor was she unworthy to rear him who was to help to lay the corner-stone of a great edifice. William Copley had a pension from the King of Spain, and lived in that country for many years. In January 1596, he writes to his cousin, Robert Tempest, Mignon College, Paris, about some jewels and apparel of his which were at Rheims ; he wishes them sent to him, as he is not going to Flanders nor to England until it is converted which he thinks will be "in three or four years"—it does seem "he wanted wit."

CHAPTER VIII.

Birth of Father Thomas Copley in Madrid.

The four children of William and his first wife were all born in Spain, which fact was afterwards a protection from pursuivants and rabble of that kind to Father Thomas who, born in 1594, was the eldest son, though he on becoming a priest transferred his rights as to family inheritance to his brother William. The early education of Father Thomas must have been received at the ancestral seat of Gatton. The Copleys had returned about 1603 ; during their absence in Spain the proceeds of the estates had been enjoyed by Sir William Lane, whose mother was a sister of Sir Thomas Copley. The nomination for the borough of Gat-

ton had been in the hands of the government; Francis Bacon, who was also a relative through the ubiquitous Belknaps, at one time sat in Parliament for that place.

The return of the Copleys from Spain to Gatton after an exile of many years, which they endured willingly and joyfully for their faith, was brought about in this way. When Isabella and Albert of Austria went to govern in the Low Countries, William Copley had his pension transferred and also went thither to be near home, and in 1599 his wife crossed over to England to see if there were any possibility of recovering the estates. Before her departure, she placed Mary,⁽¹⁾ her eldest daughter, then only seven years of age, at St. Ursula's, at Louvain, with her aunt; her other children, including Thomas, were then very young and it is not known what disposition was made of them. Lady Copley remained away in England three years, when finding that nothing was to be accomplished as long as Elizabeth lived, she returned to her husband. On the accession of James in 1603 and the proclamation of pardon, William Copley and his family returned to Gatton; he compounded for his estates in the sum of £2000, to raise which he was obliged to sell a manor; besides this, "he paid £20 a month from that time until the present," says St. Monica's Chronicle from which the above facts are taken.

The persecuted Catholics had expected, with reason, some alleviation of their sufferings from the son of Mary Stuart; they were soon deceived, as not only the previous exactions continued, but others more distressing came upon them. Those among them who had property were begged and obtained by James' favorites and courtiers "to make money of" by whatever means they could, as coolly as if they had been cattle. We find at the commencement of the reign of James a grant for that purpose of William Copley to the Earl of Southampton. This may have been an act of friendship to prevent his falling into other hands, South-

(1) Mary remained at Louvain two years, and though young she exhibited a fitness for religious life, but her father reclaimed her, saying he would have her see the world ere she relinquished it. Later on Mary, and Helen her sister, were professed at Louvain.

ampton's father having been a recusant himself and in custody on that charge, of Sir William More of Loosely, when this Earl, Shakespere's friend, was born. It has been impossible to discover the exact date of the return of the Copleys; perhaps, by troubles brought on other members of the family, and on himself, by the foolishness and wickedness of Anthony Copley⁽¹⁾ it was some time delayed.

The Copleys though obliged to alienate more of their estates on account of fines and amercements were still well off in this world's goods. Father Thomas now in his teens was given such a training as a Catholic who thought more of his conscience than advancement before men could allow his offspring. Most likely tutors of undoubted loyalty to Mother Church were selected, as it is too much of a risk to expose the faith of the young to the chilling influence of teachers who have a false religion. Probably some priest, some Jesuit Father, who before the world passed for a gentleman of refined tastes and seemly behavior, but at heart was thirsting for souls, ready and eager to undergo an ignominious death for their sake, was the guiding spirit of Thomas Copley during his early years. And there was need of that heroism, that spirit of martyrs, that unflinching self-sacrifice which we consider the glory of the early Church. Plots and counterplots, dissensions among the members of the true fold, ill-fated attempts, like that of the Gunpowder Plot, on the life of the sovereign, the consequent persecution that followed—all these trials were the faithful to endure in the days of James. Glorious the renown of those who stood firm. Father Copley spent his early years amid such scenes. And that they were not unfruitful let his entrance into, and after work for, the Society bear witness. His joining the Jesuits was, no doubt, the rebound of an heroic nature, influenced by God's grace; still the bright example set by his sisters had its effect. Despising the

⁽¹⁾ This perfidious wretch seems to have been one of the false brethren so common in those days; a traitor to his religion he hesitated not in the least to betray his friends and kindred to gain favor or, most of all, money. We shall give at the end of this history an account of his misdoings which may throw some light upon the condition of Catholics in those times.

riches of the world,⁽¹⁾ he withdrew to the continent to prepare himself for greater things. His sisters had already gone thither to dedicate themselves to the service of God. St. Monica's Chronicle speaks of the journey of these young ladies from England to Belgium and the mishaps by the way. We quote from it the leading facts to show the spirit which animated the Copley family.

In 1610 Mary, the eldest daughter of William Copley of Gatton, and Helen, her sister, two years younger, "being now of an age to undertake any state," says St. Monica's Chronicle, determined to pass over to the continent and become nuns.

Having relations at the Benedictine Convent at Brussels, they at first thought of going there, but hearing that their great aunt, the Prioress, and the English nuns had left St. Ursula's at Louvain and established in 1609 St. Monica's Convent of English Canonesses of St. Augustine in the same city, they changed their intentions and determined to join that house. They informed their mother of their design and she acceded to it, but begged them not to take leave of her nor tell her when they were going.

A widow lady whom they knew being about to go over in the suite of one of the ambassadors, they repaired to London to join her and took lodgings at an inn in Southwark. There was great excitement in London at the time, as news had just been received of the assassination of Henry the fourth of France; many Catholic houses were searched. And the two young ladies got into a religious discussion with the inn-keeper's wife, who gave information of her suspicious lodgers to the nearest justice of the peace. They had with them an aged nurse who had come out of Spain with them, and a Flemish man-servant.

That night just as they were going to bed, the justice and many men came and demanded admittance; the frightened girls at first refused to open the door, but as they threatened to break it open,—“taking their books and money for the

⁽¹⁾ William Copley, the father of Thomas, had sold Mersham Park, as we have said already. The transaction was for the benefit of some greedy Scottish favorite of the King.

voyage, they got into bed, leaving out one vain book of Virgil which was taken away." So lying still in bed they desired their nurse to open the door. There came into the room many men who drew open the curtains; the justice of the peace sat down by the bedside and asked of what religion they were. The eldest answered that they were well known in Southwark to be recusants; for their family had one manor and many houses there. He asked if they would go to church, to which Mary replied "no, they would not be dissemblers; he then asked Helen the same question and received a similar answer. He did not distrust them, but put their man, who lay in another chamber, in prison. They sent for their mother who got them released and went with them to the water side, which she had not intended to do, and their man was released through his ambassador.

At St. Omer's, they were received with great kindness by their relation, Dr. Redmond and at Louvain by Dr. Cæsar Clements, their mother's own cousin, Dean of St. Gudule. The Mother at Louvain rejoiced over them, saying: "it is now time that I go to my home, for I have two to leave in my place;" she died ten days afterwards.

"The two Copleys' eldest brother came over in 1611 to pass his philosophy in this place (Louvain); and boarded with our Fathers (their Chaplains); some time after their profession he himself entered into the Society of Jesus, leaving his inheritance unto his second brother, William, taking our Lord for his better portion."

CHAPTER IX.

Entrance of Thomas Copley into the Society.

In 1604 a noble Spanish lady had left twelve thousand crowns to build a house in which English novices of the Society of Jesus might be trained;—a mansion which had belonged to the Knights of Malta and thence called "St. John's" was bought in Louvain two years afterwards—and besides the original purpose young gentlemen were received for the higher studies. Thither came as Rector, in the very

year that Thomas Copley entered the Society, one of the most remarkable men which that age, fertile in greatness, produced, who concealed under the alias of "John Thomson," a high name and romantic career. His real name was John Gerard and his life is said by an English periodical "to be equal to anything which has been published since the days of Defoe."⁽¹⁾

Born of an ancient Catholic family of Lancashire, still extant and still Catholic, in the early part of Elizabeth's reign he joined the Society before his twenty-fifth year, when he at once returned to England and became the most active and formidable of those champions who defied the warrants of the Privy Council, and the search of the pursuivants. Of distinguished appearance and fine manners, familiar with the usages of the best society, as much at home with the hounds and hawks of my lord, as in the withdrawing-room of my lady, he so won the hearts of all men that he was enabled to win them to the love of God.

The elegant gentleman⁽²⁾ "attired costely and defensibly in buff leather garnished with silver lace, satin doublet and colored velvet hose with correspondent cloak and gilded dagger," with whom Sir Everard Digby was so fascinated, that before he discovered Gerard's true character, he wished him to marry his sister—gave instructions as he sat with his catechumen at the card-table and heard confessions returning from the hunting-field; his converts were of all classes from serving men to earls; the widow of Essex was his penitent, and he almost won to a better life the beautiful lady Rich, "the Stella" of Sir Philip Sidney, but most of all his influence was felt by the young.

"At least ten young men of birth and fortune left England and joined the Society of Jesus before the close of Elizabeth's reign, and in every instance we can trace his influence," says Jessop, and since the publication of Foley's "Record" the number has been considerably increased. He

⁽¹⁾ Notes and Queries for 1881.

⁽²⁾ Description of his arrest—MSS. at Hatfield.

seems to have inspired the deepest attachment and reverence; wealth and position were exerted as his safe-guard, but his best protection was his deep insight into the hearts of others, a far-sighted sagacity in which audacity and prudence were singularly combined; he divined the treachery of the false brother and eluded the snares of the priest-taker with an address and coolness which Carson, in his encounters with men scarcely less savage, never surpassed. He was, however, captured at last and thrown into the Tower, where he was repeatedly and vainly tortured by Topcliffe; he could not be won to betray his friends. When scarcely recovered he gained the good will of his keeper and, with the assistance of two devoted lay-brothers of his order, made his escape from that prison, and recommenced his labors, which were brought to an abrupt close by that mysterious puzzle in history, known as "the Gunpowder Plot," for which his convert and intimate friend, Sir Everard Digby, was executed. Gerard himself was accused of being privy to it, but while the pursuivants were close upon his track and his fellow priests were under arrest, he had letters in his own handwriting, denying his knowledge of it, dropped in the streets of London, and made his escape to Spain, and soon after to Rome, where, being appointed penitentiary at St. Peter's, he resided some years. Robert Parsons, then approaching the end of his labors, was there, and to these two, the most eminent Englishmen of their order, the outlook in their own country must have seemed dark indeed; for now the succession of the Stuart line was assured and the future, to the Catholics, under beings as subservient to the Puritans as James had proved and as bitter as his heir, Prince Henry, was known to be, must have extended like an arid desert marked only by the bones of the dead.

We believe that Parsons and Gerard then first conceived that design, which, though not carried out until more than twenty years afterwards, was patiently adhered to, a scheme which seems to have first originated with the father of the latter, and of which we owe our knowledge to Father Parsons himself; he says, "Sir Thomas Gerard, father of Father

John, petitioned Queen Elizabeth to be allowed to colonize the northern part of America, but the project failed owing to the coldness of the Catholics." Their reluctance to engage in an enterprise of that kind in an entirely unknown land where, as yet, there was not planted a single foot of their nation, is not surprising; now the success of the plantation in Virginia was certain; why might not that old plan be resumed, a grant be obtained which will empower Catholic Englishmen to win from savage nature a new home in the New World; where, under other skies and by strange streams, they may dare to practise the old faith as it was practised everywhere less than a hundred years ago. There too may the red men, whom Segura and others of Ours gave their lives to gain, be won to christianity and civilization; 'tis a mighty continent; who knows but in a few hundred years the cross, aspiring heavenward, may rise over the shrines of a hundred cities richer than Antwerp or Venice; and venerated prelates from great empires not yet dreamed of, may be called to Rome to Council or Conclave? If such were the visions of those far-sighted Jesuits they have been fully realized. Unfortunately the records of the Society lost during its suppression renders proof impossible, and we can only judge from the result.

In 1610 Robert Parsons died; in 1611 Gerard passed to Louvain to train others to tread in his footsteps; before his arrival there, among the first novices to enter St. John's was one destined to play an important part in the new design, Andrew White, a secular priest and experienced missionary, who having been sent into exile in 1606, had come the next year as an aspirant to the Order. He seems to have known the elder Garnett and corresponded with both Parsons and Gerard, though he left Louvain before the arrival of the latter, being sent back to England in 1610. He was professed in 1619, and seems to have returned to the continent whence he was called to join the Maryland expedition.

We find that in 1615 William Copley, younger brother of Father Thomas, had letters of naturalization granted him, he having been born in the dominions of the King of Spain; the next year he was married to Anne Skelton, whose father

settled on her Ongar and other property in Essex; Gatton, Colley, and the Maze were settled on the issue of the marriage.

Before this, Thomas Copley had probably been admitted to holy orders and had transferred his rights as heir to his brother, being then of legal age, having been born in 1594 or 1595, and was no doubt pursuing his ecclesiastical studies at Liège, the house of novices having been removed from Louvain to that city, Gerard still remaining Rector.

On "the 20th of August, 1610, died Magdalen, wife of William Copley, Sr."—the first record of the family that occurs in the Parish register; she was buried in Gatton church where Aubrey saw her tomb and others belonging "to the gentile family of Copley."

The parliamentary returns from that place seem to have been anything but satisfactory to the House of Commons, which had already begun to manifest that spirit which rose so high during the next reign; in 1621 the Committee of Privileges report that "John Hollis, son of Lord Haughton, and Sir Henry Britton, both papists, were returned for the borough of Gatton, through the influence of Mr. Copley, owner of almost all the town; that Sir Thomas Gresham and Sir Thomas Bludder were chosen by the freeholders. The House declared the former election void, and returned the last." About this time William Copley of Gatton finding "it not good to live alone," or unable to withstand the fashion of the period, to marry as often as circumstances would permit, though fifty-seven years old, contracted a second marriage with Margaret, sister of Bartholomew Fromonds, of East Cheam, Surrey. Her Aunt Jane had been the wife of the celebrated Dr. Dee; her brother was a Catholic gentleman who seems from D. S. P. to have been frequently in trouble for entertaining priests, and who regularly paid twenty pounds a month for recusancy.

Manning says that William Copley "prevailed on his son by a former marriage to join with him in settling Leigh Place on his second wife for her jointure, and on his issue by her, which was accordingly done."

If William was the son referred to, he did not long sur-

vive his disinterested act, but died on the 5th of July, and was buried on the 6th, 1622, in Gatton Church, leaving two daughters, Mary aged three years, and Anne, one year old. It seems that their grandfather disputed the deed of settlement, but it was confirmed by the Court of Wards—and he had the mortification of knowing that the main part of his inheritance would pass from his family through these females, instead of descending in the right line, and to a son whom his second wife had lately borne him.

CHAPTER X.

Father Copley's Return to England.

About this time there lived in England a man named John Gee, who had taken orders in the Church of England; his⁽¹⁾ enemies said he "had cozened a widow out of a large sum of money, forsook the country, and going abroad either became, or pretended to become a Catholic." He afterwards returned to the established church, obtained preferment and published "The Foot out of the Snare" between 1623 and 1624, in which he gives a list of priests and physicians in London. To him we are indebted for the information that "Father Copley, Junior, one that hath newly taken orders and come from beyond seas" was among the number.⁽²⁾ His old Rector, Father John Gerard, had been recalled to Rome in 1622 from Liège, and was now confessor at the English College; and as there had probably been a general change, Father Copley may have been sent home to arrange about the portion reserved to him, which the death of his brother and the new domestic ties of his father rendered necessary.

It is not likely that his real position was as well known to everyone as it was to Gee; he probably passed in society for a young gentleman whose peculiar tastes induced him to forego matrimony and to reside mostly abroad:—whilst he was protected from the "evil crew" of pursuivants by his

(1) Marden, a fellow clergyman of Established Church, in D. S. P.

(2) In 1632 Rev. W. Clarke writing to the Clergy Agent at Rome, gives a list of the regular and secular priests in England; we find in it this entry: "Jesuits out of prison, Thomas Copley, etc."

birth in Spain and by Gondomar, then all-powerful at the English Court. He had another friend there also, his cousin George Gage, son of Gage of Haling; George was a priest like himself and had been an active agent in promoting the marriage of the heir apparent with the Spanish Infanta; he had also been employed by James on a mission to the Pope; Sir George Calvert, the Secretary of State, known to be most anxious to see it accomplished, no doubt assisted at the interviews of the King and that young ecclesiastic; perhaps he had introduced him to his notice; for, from his position, the history and members of the great Catholic families must have been known to him. George Gage, though prothonotary for the See of Rome and trusted with important state secrets by his own King, was a young man at this time; he was probably older than his brother Sir Henry, who was born in 1597, but he seems from his subsequent career to have merited the confidence reposed in him. He was now in London with his Cousin Thomas Copley; it is not improbable that the two, who had so much in common may have recognized each other sometimes strangely disguised, or, wearing ruffs and rapiers with hawks on their wrists, may have ridden as gay gallants to Gatton to tell its owner how His Highness fared in Spain.

The necessity of caution was so paramount in those evil days and so many stratagems were necessary, that it is almost impossible to identify a priest when he appears in any record. It is hoped that Foley's "List of real and assumed names," soon to appear, may throw some light on the "by" names of Father Thomas Copley; it is almost too much to expect to be informed what became of him during those years during which we lose sight of him. He may have been doing humble duty in some remote country district, hearing the confessions and sharing the life of cottagers, or have been the honored guest of those high in place and, taking his proper position under another appellation, may have been on intimate terms with the justice who would have arrested, or the judge who would have hung the audacious Jesuit "who went about to seduce the King's subjects from the church as by law established." He may have been

employed in some house of the Society on the Continent; and this idea is borne out by a glimpse we get of him from D. S. P.—probably an intercepted letter from Francis Plowden, head of a well known family of Shropshire, and brother of Thomas Plowden, S. J., dated March 2nd, 1628, to Thomas Copley, relating to a bond in which Plowden had joined with his late brother William Copley, for four hundred pounds to Drue Lovett, and in which Sir Richard Munshull had some interest. Plowden seemed to desire Copley's intercession with the latter gentleman.

Drue Lovett was one of three brothers, all goldsmiths or bankers, and Catholics, who were extensively employed by their co-religionists in settling the fines with which their estates were charged, and as security for them in the troubles to which they were constantly exposed. Perhaps this document was found at the Jesuits' house in Clerkenwell, from which many papers were carried off and eight priests arrested the 15th of that month; and this seems probable from the fact of Thomas Plowden, or Salisbury, being one of them, and that the letter was captured in transitu. Here, also was arrested Robert Beaumont, whose real name was Jamison, a nephew of Father Gerard, and Thomas Poulton, an uncle of Ferdinand Poulton⁽¹⁾ who was subsequently to be Thomas Copley's companion in the New World. They were tried and one of them was condemned to death, but they were all released through the influence of Sir Lionel

⁽¹⁾ The Poulton family had several of its members in the Society. Father Ferdinand (whose name in Confirmation was John) *alias* John Brooks, or Brock, *alias* Morgan, was the son of Francis Poulton and Ann Morgan. In the Maryland catalogue he appears as John Brock (*pere* Morgan). He had an uncle named Ferdinand Poulton who was at one time a member of the Society, but left about 1623, and was known in England under the *alias* of John Morgan. The Father Ferdinand Poulton of Maryland was born in Buckinghamshire in 1601 or 3; he was educated at St. Omer's and entered the English College at Rome for higher studies in 1619 as John Brookes, aged 18; he entered the Society in 1622. He was at St. Omer's in 1633, at Watten 1636; was Superior in Maryland under the *alias* of John Brock for several years, beginning with 1638. In 1640 (19 Sept.) Gov. Calvert specially summoned him as Ferdinand Poulton, Esquire, of St. Mary's County, to the Assembly. He was accidentally shot whilst crossing the St. Mary's river, June 5th, 1641, says an old catalogue, though Br. Foley has July 5th. Fr. Poulton was professed of the four vows, Dec. 8th, 1635.

There seems to have been a great intimacy between the Calverts and Poultons. I find that William Poulton *alias* Sachervall, a secular priest and brother of Father Ferdinand, was chaplain to Mary Lady Somerset, a daughter of Lord Arundell of Wardour and sister-in-law to Cecil Calvert Lord Baltimore.

Cranfield who had been, or was in business with Giles Poulton, another brother of the priest, the Earl of Dorset, son-in-law of Cranfield, bringing the warrant for that purpose to Newgate.

CHAPTER XI.

Father Copley in Maryland.

On the 29th of Sept. 1633 a ship known as the Ark attended by a pinnace, the Dove, was lying at Tilbury Hope waiting for Edward Watkins, "the searcher of London," an official who seems to have united the duties of a custom-house officer and a notary public, to come on board and administer the oath of allegiance to the colonists. He certifies that it was taken by a hundred and twenty-eight individuals; unfortunately it can never be known how far Mr. Watkins was reliable, or if it were not possible for him to confuse a broad piece slipped in his hand with the required attestation, an hallucination not unknown in much later times.

As the oath was such that Catholics refused to take it, only the Protestants who had joined the expedition with a few lay-members of the older faith may have done so.⁽¹⁾ Lord Baltimore states that three hundred and twenty persons had sailed in those ships; the remainder may have come on board after Watkins' departure, as it is known Frs. White and Altham and the lay-brother Gervase did. Fr. Thomas Copley was not with them; the year before, in 1632, he was professed as we learn from St. Monica's Chronicle; where he was stationed at that time does not appear, but two months after the departure of the Ark and the Dove and while they were in mid-ocean, he was in London, and presented, on the first of December, a petition to the King which may be found in D. S. P. for 1633.

"Petitioner is an alien born and, therefore, he conceives that for his religion, he is not liable to be troubled by the laws of this realm, yet fearing he may be arrested by some messengers while following occasions which concern his father's and his own estates, he prays his Majesty to refer

(1) Letter to Wentworth.

this petition to one of his principal secretaries who may signify to messengers to forbear to trouble petitioner. Underwritten refers to Sec. Windebank to inform himself of the truth of the above petition and take such cause for petitioner as may be fit."

For thirty-five years the owners of the Copley estates had been in exile; the estates had been sequestered and had thus been preserved intact, instead of being sold piece-meal to pay fines and amercements; so that the family retained a larger share of wealth than others of their faith; and Father Thomas had, probably, when he relinquished his rights as the heir, been allotted an ample portion for his support. This portion he was now engaged in selling and in the purchase of goods and the transportation of men to Maryland. He may have been interested also in assisting Lord Baltimore to fit out the expedition which had just sailed, for though Father White in his "relation" says that nobleman bore the whole charge, it is apparent he was mistaken; on the tenth of January, 1634, Baltimore writes to Wentworth, Lord Stafford: "I have sent a hopeful colony to Maryland with fair expectation of good success, however without any danger of any great prejudice unto myself, in respect that others are joined with me in the adventure." It is certain that on his arrival in Maryland Copley claimed, not only the nineteen men he had brought with him, but twenty-eight who had come before, including White and Altham, making forty-eight in all, which entitled him to ten thousand acres of land which he took up. St. Inigoes near the old city of St. Mary's, and St. Thomas' Manor in Charles County formed part of this domain and are still in possession of the Society, the oldest religious foundations in the United States—albeit the founder is forgotten, and are the mother houses of Catholicity in this land.

The position Father Copley occupied was a peculiar one; though a professed Father of the Society, he retained his worldly rank also, by which he was recognized both in England and Maryland, and he had either powerful friends at Court, or the King must have been aware that he was one

of Lord Baltimore's associates when he gave him the following protection, lately discovered at Annapolis: ⁽¹⁾

"Whereas Thomas Copley, gentleman, an alien, is a recusant and may be subject to be troubled for his religion; and for as much as we are well satisfied of the conditions and qualities of the said Thomas Copley and of his loyalty and obedience towards us, we hereby will and require you and every one of you whom it may concern, to permit the said Thomas Copley freely and quietly to attend in any place, and go about and follow his occupation, without molestation or troubling him by any means whatsoever for matters of religion, or the persons or places of those unto whom he shall resort, and this shall be your warrant in his behalf. Given at our palace of Westminster the 5th of Dec. in the 10th year of our reign (1633)." It was ten years before the civil wars and the King's name was still a tower of strength; under this ample protection Copley could go and come as he pleased, collect his men, buy his goods, and it may be, "follow his occupation" in more important matters, administering spiritual and bodily comfort to his less fortunate co-religionists, confined in the noisome prisons, while the vile brood of "messengers" could only snarl at him from a distance. He may have resided at Gatton going up to London as his business required his attention.

A new family had sprung up at Gatton, John and a younger half brother, Roger, only two years old at the settlement of Maryland. His two orphan nieces resided with a guardian appointed by their mother, who was buried in Gatton church in 1632. There was little to retain him in England save the command of his Superiors; but there he remained until 1637. In the spring of that year he took ship for Maryland, bringing with him John Knowles, an enthusiastic young ecclesiastic from Staffordshire, and nineteen laymen whom he "transported;" that is, whose passage he paid, on condition that they remained in his service for a specified period. That these men were, as a rule, Catholics there can be no doubt. At a time when it would have been an act of suicide for a Jesuit to disclose himself to the aver-

⁽¹⁾ In Neill's *Founders of Maryland*.

age Protestant, it is not likely he would have sought recruits among those who would continue in the New World the severities which drove him from the Old; and an examination of the names shows that many were identical with those in lists of recusants, with those who were set down for "fines and amercements" and "given away;" all such were known in those days as "papists" to pursuivants and greedy courtiers, and they are so regarded by modern readers who have toiled through many volumes of State papers. The men thus transported felt no shame in the title of "servant" which then bore another meaning; their poverty was often to them a sign of steadfastness to the faith; and it were better to exchange a few years of labor in the fields of the Fathers with the promise of peace and plenty beyond, than fall, a soldier of fortune, in the Low Countries.

In the July of this year, whilst the ship that bore Thomas Copley still breasted the Atlantic, his old teacher, Father John Gerard, who had been for many years confessor in the English College, died in Rome—an aged man whose wisdom, zeal and sufferings intitled him to give counsel to those Superiors who selected the laborers for Maryland. It is probable that he, with Father Fitzherbert, chose them. White, Altham, and Gervase were known to Gerard, having shared the dangers of the English Mission thirty years before with him. William Copley had been the intimate friend of Fitzherbert in Spain, whilst Ferdinand Poulton was his relative and the convert of Gerard. Richard, second son of Sir Thomas Gerard of Bryn, Lancashire, one of "the gentlemen" pilgrims of 1634, was great nephew to Father Gerard, who thus lived long enough to rejoice over the success of the expedition; the one ray that came to cheer the hearts of English Catholics after long years of gloom. On the⁽¹⁾ 8th of August, 1637, Thomas Copley, Esquire, entered his claim for six thousand acres of land due by condition of transportation, for thirty-one persons he had sent out, and registered the names of Andrew White, John Altham, Thos. Gervase, Thomas Stratham, Matthias Sousa, Mr. Rogers, John Bryant, Michael Hervey, Henry Bishop, John Thorn-

⁽¹⁾ Annapolis Records.

ton, Thomas Clarenton, Richard Duke, John Thompson, John Hollis, Robert Sympson, John Hilliard, John Hill, John Ashmore, Thomas Hatch, Lewis Fromonds, Mary Jennings, Christopher Charnock, Richard Lusthead, Robert Shirley.

It also appears that in 1634 several gentlemen of the expedition, who probably returned to England soon after, assigned to the Fathers of the Society the men they had brought out. John Saunders assigned Thomas Hodges, Richard Cole, John Elkin, Richard Neville, and John Marlborough; Richard Gerard assigned to them, Thos. Munns, Thomas Grigston, Robert Edwards, John Ward, and William Edwin. Edward and Frederic Wintour assigned Wm. Clarke, John Price, White John Price, and Francis Rabetnett. Matthias Sousa was a negro, having been added whilst the Ark and Dove wintered in the West Indies. Hervey, Hollis, Hilliard, Ashmore, Fromonds, Charnock, Shirley, Cole, Neville, Edwards, may have been cadets of well known Catholic gentry bearing those names. Lewis Fromonds was doubtless of the family of East Cheam, in Surrey, to which Thomas Copley's stepmother belonged; several members appear from its pedigree which was prolific in younger branches, to have borne the name of Lewis, which was afterwards given to a nephew of the priest. From a further memorandum in the Annapolis Record "Thomas Copley, Esquire, demandeth four thousand acres for transporting into this Province himself and twenty able men to plant and inhabit"—the names appended are his own, John Knowles, Thomas Dawson, Richard Cox, Robert Sedgrave, Luke Gardiner, Thomas Mathew, John Machin, James Campbell, James Compton, Walter King, George White, John Tuo, Philip Spurr, Henry Hooper, John Smith, William Empson, Nicholas Russell, Edward Tatersell, Thomas Smith, Henry James.

It is probable that Luke Gardiner was of a family in Surrey, a branch of the Gardiners of Norfolk, to which belonged Fathers Humphrey and Bernard Gardiner of the Society, who were relatives of Thomas Cornwalllys, the Maryland Commissioner. Gardiner also at this time demanded land as having brought out his father, mother and several other members of his family; he took up a plantation on St. Clement's bay and was ancestor to a family which still supplies worthy members to the Church of God.

CHAPTER XII.

Events at St. Mary's City.

Father Copley at first resided at St. Inigoes;⁽¹⁾ soon after his arrival an epidemic disease, supposed by some to have been the yellow fever, decimated the little colony. Gervase, the faithful lay-brother, who had come with White and Altham, died, and Copley's companion, John Knowles, an ardent young aspirant, succumbed six weeks after landing. The labors of the surviving Fathers must have been severe and unremitting; they faltered not in their duty, and the *Relation* says, "not one Catholic died without receiving the last rites of the Church." They journeyed from house to house, often many miles distant, through the thick pine forests, finding their way by notches on the trees, no breath of air reaching them through the interminable branches, or by slow canoes when the rays of the sultry autumn sun withered the human frame. If they made their way at night, the swamp air was loaded with death-dealing miasma. Many a brave and faithful soul, who, having greatly endured at home, now perished in the attempt to win in the New World a home for his ancient faith;—"building better than they knew," their ashes unmarked by stone or name rest in the old grave-yards of St. Inigoes, St. Thomas', or Newtown, but every Angelus bell, throughout this broad land, is an echo of that they rang—and their proclamation of toleration widening with the years grew into that great declaration which was issued a hundred and twenty-seven years later.

In November 1637 "the St. Marc" arrived in the port of St. Mary's, having on board "for Mr. Copley, clothes, hatchets, knives and hoes to trade with the Indians for beaver."

⁽¹⁾ That is, in the Residence at St. Mary's City.

The sale of these articles brought the Fathers in contact with the natives—enabled them to win their friendship and acquire their language. A catechism in an extinct American tongue sent from Maryland by the early missionaries still exists at Rome to attest their labors. John Lewger and his family came out in the *St. Marc*, and Robert Clarke who had charge of Father Copley's goods; he is once mentioned as "a boy, servant to Mr. Copley," but this must have been a way of expressing that he was a young man, for he was summoned the following January to the Assembly as "Robert Clarke, gentleman," a title which never would have been given him unless he had a right to bear it. He seems to have acted for some time as agent or intendant for the Society, became chief surveyor of the Colony, married the widow of Nicholas Causin, a French emigrant of some distinction, and was a prominent member of the Colony. Some light seems to have been thrown on his origin by *St. Monica's Chronicle*, which states that "Mark Clarke, a Catholic gentleman of Vanhouse, Surrey, died, leaving four orphan children, two boys and two girls. To prevent the girls from being brought up Protestants they were sent to their relative Mrs. Bedingfield in Flanders," and in 1632 became inmates of the convent where were Father Copley's sisters. The fate of their brothers is not stated, but it is not likely they were neglected by their friends; they were natives of the same county, perhaps neighbors of the Copleys, and a recruit for the Maryland enterprise may have been found in one of them. Governor Leonard Calvert convened an Assembly, composed of the freemen of the Colony, to meet at St. Mary's City on the 25th of January, 1638. Vain now would be the attempt to locate the precise spot where this legislative body met; the town of St. Mary's has entirely passed away; a few broken bricks and shattered potsherds turned up by the ploughshare are the only corroboration of the tradition of its existence. The State House, which however must have been erected at a subsequent period, was after the removal of the seat of government to Annapolis,

pulled down and its materials used to construct a small Episcopal church which stands hard by. Governor Calvert's own house, constructed probably of oaken logs, with flooring of the same roughly smoothed with the adze, was most likely the place of meeting. It is easy to imagine that rude hall hung with skins of deer and panther, pieces of defensive armor and a few sacred pictures while above the presiding officer, the Governor himself, the escutcheon of the Lord Proprietor blazed in sable and gold over the founders of Maryland.

Leonard Calvert, born the same year with Milton, but thirty-two years old at that time when the Assembly met, was one of those men who only seeking to do the right unconsciously win fame. The Marshall was 'Robert Percy, gentleman;' there are strong grounds for believing that he was the eldest son of Thomas Percy, a chief conspirator of the Gunpowder Plot. John Lewger of Trinity College, Oxford, a man whose mind had been sorely tossed by winds of opinion, who had vibrated from the Established Church to Catholicity, and had turned back again to his first faith with Chillingworth, but only to abandon it and to die later a martyr of charity, ministering to the sufferers of the London plague, took his place as a law-maker in the Assembly. Close by was Thomas Cornwallys, Counsellor and Commissioner, of sufficient wealth but troubled about many matters, for to his strong sense and clear judgment was submitted the greater part of the affairs of the settlement. His family held high rank in Norfolk, and he "transported" to the Colony such men as Cuthbert Fenwick and the two sons of Sir Robert Rookwood, grandsons of that Ambrose Rookwood of Staningfield, whose barbarous execution in 1607 had been a spectacle for the London mob.

Here too was Robert Wintour, commander of the little pinnace, the Dove, on the first voyage. Sprung from a great sea-faring race and nephew of the loyal Marquis of Worcester, he had played many parts; had conferred with the Pope on ecclesiastical matters and had steered into London harbor the ship Black Lion, to the horror of an orthodox

informer, who thought that its "eighteen pieces of ordnance in show" boded no good when in the hands of an arch-papist, whose sister was a Benedictine nun at Brussels and his cousin, Lady Mary Percy, abbess of the convent there.

Eldest of three brothers who came on the first voyage, he seems to have been the only one that remained, and had, in the last five years, braved many an Atlantic storm as he passed and repassed between England and Maryland, being a sea-captain as had been his ancestors for generations. The head of the house, Sir John Wintour, a noted partisan, acted during the English civil wars very much the part of Mosby in ours; his mansion of Lidney was bravely defended by Lady Wintour, a daughter of the "belted Will Howard" sung by Scott, against the Parliamentary forces, and near it fell a brother of Sir John, with a musket ball in his brain, either Edward or Frederick Wintour, who, like Richard Gerard, turned back from the furrow ere it was well begun; surely it were better to have abided in that land which alone promised peace to English Catholics, than to perish thus for the faithless Stuart. Now the labors of Robert Wintour are nearly over; he is often too ill during the session to appear, or to cross the frozen stream between his own plantation and St. Mary's, and a few months after the adjournment he died, as did another sailor, Captain Richard Lowe, of the Ark, also present at that time. One other of the original ⁽¹⁾ pilgrims was there, John Metcalfe of the great Yorkshire family of that name, numerous about Kipling where lived the Calverts, a man well educated according to that time, for when he was afterwards called upon in court for his testimony in a divorce case; he gave it delicately in Latin, as one might who had "made his humanities" at Douay or St. Omer's.

There was Jerome Hawley, commissioner and cousin to Lord Baltimore, second son of a family long established at ⁽²⁾ Brentford in Middlesex. They were Catholic recusants in the second year of James I. Hawley had sought to gather

⁽¹⁾ Peacock's List of Recusants in Yorkshire.

⁽²⁾ Dodd's Hist. of the Church.

grapes from court-favor and had found but thorns, having been committed to the Clink prison in 1615 for indiscreetly repeating some remarks of Lady Lake, touching the King's resemblance to an old woman. Joining the Maryland adventure he had been one of those chosen to return to England to report its success. On the 11th of Dec., 1635, Governor Hervey of Virginia was charged before the Privy Council with ⁽¹⁾favoring the popish religion, "Lord Baltimore's servants having slain three men in keeping the entry of the Hudson river which goeth up into Maryland." Jerome Hawley was also charged with a declaration "that he had been sent to plant this Romanish religion in Maryland," a statement he utterly denied. He soon after received an appointment to collect a tax on tobacco in Virginia, but had lately come back with his wife Eleanor, to St. Mary's. He died before the end of the year; he was not wealthy. It ⁽²⁾seems that his only daughter was afterwards in Brabant, probably the "Hon. Susan Hawley," who joined the English nuns of the Holy Sepulchre in 1641 and was perpetual prioress at Liége from 1652 until 1706, when she died at the age of eighty-four.

Thomas Copley, Esquire, and Andrew White and John Altham, gentlemen, were also summoned to this assembly, but they asked, through Robert Clarke to be excused, knowing well how the Puritan faction, then daily gaining strength in England would regard their appearance as legislators. John Bryant, freeman and planter, had a seat; he was one of those first transported by Copley; on the 31st of January he was killed by the fall of a tree—and on the settlement of his estate, Robert Clarke on behalf of Thomas Copley, entered a caveat for "50 barrells of corn." Bryant had probably "bought his time" and had not yet paid all that was due. It was also found on the settlement of Jerome Hawley's property that he owed to Thomas Copley a debt of eighty-seven pounds secured by judgment, and other sums, for which Mr. Copley took fifty pounds of desperate debts

⁽¹⁾ D. S. P.⁽²⁾ Oliver's His. of Eng. Church.

due the estate. It would thus seem that the term of service was not long, nor was it attended with disgrace.

A proof of the esteem and confidence from those whom Fr. Copley had brought out, was furnished by a case which came before the Court this year. Thomas Cornwalllys had for overseer on one of his plantations near St. Mary's City, a man named William Lewis who was a zealous Catholic. On the last Sunday in June two of the servants who were Protestants, Francis Gray and Robert Sedgrave, were reading aloud from the writings of an almost forgotten divine of the Church of England, things not very agreeable to the ears of a man like Lewis; theologians used vigorous language in those days; there was a heated discussion. Lewis lost his temper, threatening to burn the book, and they deeming themselves martyrs, drew up a statement of their grievances, intending to forward it to Governor Hervey of Virginia as the nearest authority of their faith. Sedgrave who drew up this document and seems from it to have been well educated, had come out the year before with Father Copley, but does not appear to have been bound by the usual terms, as he sat as a freeman in the Assembly of the previous winter and was now employed by another person. Lewis grew frightened and reported to Cornwalllys that his servants were about to petition the Governor of Virginia against him. Cornwalllys, as justice of the peace, summoned them before himself, Governor Calvert, and Secretary Lewger, when the whole circumstance was rehearsed. Sedgrave testified that Gray wanted the petition, but he retained it until he could speak to Mr. Copley:—on Sunday last he saw Gray at the Fort and told him that "Mr. Copley had given him good satisfaction, had blamed William Lewis for his contumelious speech and ill-governed zeal."⁽¹⁾ This was also the opinion of the authorities and Lewis was obliged to pay a fine of tobacco.

Father Philip Fisher, at this time Superior of the Maryland Mission, was probably Thomas Copley's companion at St. Inigoes, he having been sent from England either in

⁽¹⁾ Fr. Copley may have said that Lewis was indiscreet, but no more,

1635 or 1636, according to Oliver. Great confusion has resulted from confounding this priest, who, following the same authority, was born in 1595, entered the Society in 1617, and was professed in 1630, with John Fisher, otherwise Musket, whose real name seems to have been Percy.

The first notice of this Father Percy, Fisher, Fairfax, for he passed under all of those names, occurs in the memoirs of Gerard, who placed him as chaplain with Sir Everard Digby. Arrested at the time of the Gunpowder Plot, he was confined in "the Tower in Little-Ease, a crypt under a crypt," where he has left his protest carved on the wall:⁽¹⁾ "Sacris Vestibus indutus dum Sacra Mysteria servans, captus et in hoc angusto carcere inclusus. J. Fisher." He was still in prison in 1614, for he was then examined and refused the oath; he was in Wisbech Castle in 1615, from which, with several other priests he escaped, as afterwards out of Lincoln Castle. He was then banished, but returned to England in the suite of Collona, the Spanish ambassador, in 1624. In May 1625, according to Domestic State Papers, he had a grant of pardon for offenses against the Statutes: in March, 1627, there appears "a list of popish books and other things taken in the house of William Sharples, Queen St., St. Giles in the Fields, belonging to Mr. Fisher, otherwise Musket;" and in June of the same year there is a memorandum that "the Countess of Buckingham's Lodge called 'the Porch' at the end of the king's garden, lodges Fisher."⁽²⁾

Ere long we find him in prison; in October of the next year there is a warrant from Secretary Conway "to search the closets and trunks of George Gage in the Clink and of one Musket in the Gatehouse," after which there is no men-

⁽¹⁾ Hepworth Dixon's "Her Majesty's Tower."

⁽²⁾ Not long since an able writer advanced the theory that Philip Fisher and Thomas Copley were the same person. The reasons he adduces for this opinion whilst very weighty, still do not exclude all doubt, and until further research in England, or in Rome, throws light upon the subject, it must be relegated among the many "vexed questions" of history. Oliver says Philip Fisher's real name was Cappicius, which may have been a misspelling of Copleus. Thus writes Br. Foley in a recent letter.

tion of him until 1632, when it is stated in a note respecting priests "that Father Musket remains in Count Arundell's house." His protector is known to us as Lord Arundell of Wardour, having been so created a few years afterwards, and was the father of Ann Arundell, the wife of Cecil Lord Baltimore. On the 12th of December of the next year Musket appeared at Whitehall before the Privy Council, being brought by John Gray, one of the vile brood of messengers, and "it was ordered, according to his Majesty's pleasure, that he should depart the realm forthwith—and give bond with securities not to return; and that he should stand committed to the Gatehouse until he had performed the same. Nevertheless, he is to remain in custody until he has satisfied Gray and has defrayed his expenses in the house where he lodges." Some years afterwards there is an indignant petition from the same messenger to the Council, "that one Fisher, alias Percy, who was committed to the Gatehouse and sentenced to be banished, has been abroad these three years and does more mischief than he did before." Gray prays for an order to retake him. Rushworth in his "Collections," volume fourth, says that in 1640 he was released preparatory to banishment, but makes no allusion to America, and Challoner in his "Missionary Priests" states that he succeeded Kellison as Rector at Douay in Nov. 1641, and died there fortified by the rites of the Church and surrounded by his weeping friends⁽¹⁾ in 1645, the very year that Ingle's ship, the *Reformation*, appeared in the peaceful creek of St. Inigoes and carried off White and Fisher to England. Oliver says that during the last years of his life, Father Musket was afflicted with a cancer. Streeter says that he was celebrated for his dialectic skill and disputed with Lewger before his conversion. It is certain that he was called from prison to engage in religious controversy with James himself; the good Father must have remembered the ancient philosopher who declined to reason with "the master of forty legions," though the king was good-natured; perhaps, he

⁽¹⁾ We follow the MS. though it departs a little from the views of Brother Foley in his "Records."

in his vanity thought that having vanquished an opponent in argument it would be an abuse of power to hang him. It must have been while residing in the household of Lord Arundell of Wardour, that Musket encountered Lewger, then a minister of the established church, and a college companion of Cecil Calvert, who no doubt introduced him to his wife's confessor.

In the fall of 1638 the English Provincial sent another Father into Maryland, perhaps to supply the place of Copley's companion, the young and devoted Knowles. On the 30th of November arrived Ferdinand Poulton, bringing with him Walter Morley, a lay-brother; Richard Disney and Charles the Welshman. Father Poulton applied for land, due by condition of plantation, under his real name, though he was known by that of Brooks: and it was supposed that his true name was Morgan, until the publication of Foley's "Record" set that, as many other matters, to rights.⁽¹⁾

CHAPTER XIII.

Father Copley at Mattapony.

In 1639,⁽²⁾ Thomas Copley and Ferdinand Poulton were stationed at Mattapony, a plantation near and south of the junction of the Patuxent and Chesapeake Bay; this land at that time belonged to the Fathers, and here they exchanged their goods with the natives, gained their good will and improved themselves in the dialect of the country, preparatory to establishing more distant stations. Here they may have been visited during the winter, for the distance from St. Mary's is only a few miles, by Governor Calvert, by Thos. Cornwallys, or other gentlemen of the colony who had come to seek counsel from them as ghostly fathers or to advise with these mature men, their equals in birth, their superiors in education, who had "traveled much, endured much and knew councils, climates, governments"—concerning the temporal affairs of the little settlement. And when

⁽¹⁾ See note, page 55.

⁽²⁾ "Relation."

they were disposed of, some weighty matter connected with the site of the wind-mill about to be erected, or a case of conscience difficult enough to a military layman, but which the learned divine "unloosed as easy as his garter," their conversations would have been as diamonds and pearls to the historian could they have been transmitted to him, for they must have known many of the actors in the great conflict then approaching, and had mingled familiarly with those who had borne no insignificant part in the Courts and camps of Europe. Copley's father may have gazed with awe-struck infant eyes at Elizabeth Tudor; he had bowed before the cruel and cowardly Catharine de Medicis, had served under the magnificent Prince of Parma, and awaited in the Escorial the coming of Parma's dread master, Philip of Spain; whilst in England the loftiest names mingled in his domestic matters; the Queen herself is his cousin, as are some of her ministers and many of her victims; and to the cities of refuge in which he spent his youth, came men with secrets they dared not confide even to cipher. Perhaps, Poulton had heard Fitzherbert speak of Mary Stuart whose cause he had supported; and of his own evil kinsman, Gilbert Gifford, his unprovoked betrayer. They both knew Gerard, had seen on his strong wrists the marks of Topcliffe's gyves, and had heard, from his own lips, of the stirring scenes in which he had taken part.

To Louvain had come under an assumed name whilst Thomas Copley was there, William Ellis, the faithful page of Sir Everard Digby, who alone shared that wild ride which ended in a traitor's grave for his master; it were something to know what words were spoken as they galloped side by side.

Frances Parker, daughter of Lord Mounteagle who received a fateful letter, and niece to Francis Tresham who is said to have written it, was professed at St. Monica's in 1626, and may have communicated to Copley's sisters facts throwing some light on an enigmatical portion of history, which might have been made plain in that rude lodge in the New World, where the Fathers sat secure in the love and respect

of white and red men, while George Gage was slowly dying in the Clink and Henry More wrote from his prison in Newgate, begging "to be executed, that he might cease to be a subject of discord betwixt the King and his parliament."

At this time Mattaponi must have been an advanced settlement of the colony, the only manor on the Patuxent beyond it being that of Fenwick; for it was not until ten years afterwards that Robert Brooke came and took up his great estate of De La Brooke on both sides of the river. This mission had been given the Fathers by Macaquomen, king of the Patuxents, a tribe which fished, hunted and trapped beaver on both sides of the broad stream which there expands into an estuary. Ten or fifteen miles further up the river on the St. Mary's side, there was a village, perhaps only used at the fishing season, still known as Indian Town; here the Fathers preached, taught and, finally, baptized; for they seemed to have had little trouble in converting these people who are said to have been neither warlike nor numerous. Their language, however, must have been that generally spoken by the aborigines of the colony, since the Jesuits devoted time and care to its study. The book first printed by them in Maryland and still preserved in Rome, is said to be in the tongue of the Patuxents,⁽¹⁾ unspoken now by man. Nearly forty years ago two brothers, then about to proceed westward, were pointed out to the writer as the last of the tribe. In September 1640 died Father John Altham, whose true name was Gravener; he had long labored on the island of Kent, and was one of the original missionaries. Pushing their way northward the Fathers had reached Portupaco, an Indian village, situated on a creek flowing into the Potomac; "proceeding to a distant mission," which may have been this, Ferdinand Poulton was killed by the accidental discharge of a gun in the canoe in which he crossed the river. Thomas Copley, thus deprived of his companion, remained at Mattaponi ministering among the Patuxents and the white settlers, who even then were taking the places abandoned by the natives. Father Copley went on occasional expeditions towards the Potomac until 1642,

⁽¹⁾ Scharf's Hist. of Maryland, vol. 1, p. 190.

when the first permanent mission was established at Portupaco, where he took up his abode; Father Roger Rigby, a native of Lancashire, born in 1589, and of the Society since 1608, remained on the Patuxent, Father White, at Piscataway, and the Superior, Philip Fisher, at St. Inigoes.

CHAPTER XIV.

St. Thomas' Manor.—Difficulties with Lord Baltimore.

"This year Portupaco received the faith with baptism:" brief, like the language of Scripture, come down the words of the Relation; it were well that Superiors should know how went the day, but humility forbade that one should be commended where all had alike labored. It is evident, however, that this success was due to Thomas Copley; may he not have named the Manor near Port Tobacco which he then took up "St. Thomas'" in thanksgiving to his patron saint. It is unfortunate for modern research that the annual letters sent by the Superiors in Maryland were not addressed to the Father General in Rome, where they would have been preserved. As Maryland was but a branch of the English Province, they were sent to the Provincial, always an outlaw, often a prisoner, who, after transcribing such transactions as seemed most important in his own account, destroyed documents which would have been highly compromising both to the receiver and the sender. For instance, this very year the Vice-provincial, Henry More, then confined in Newgate and awaiting the trial which soon consigned him to death, received a communication from Philip Fisher that "twelve heretics had been converted" in the colony, each conversion, as the laws then stood, subjecting the priest to death; though they did not take place in England, still the parties were the King's subjects. If such communications fell into the hands of the authorities the results might be disastrous.

The Provincial was also informed of difficulties which had arisen with the Lord Proprietor on account of the bequests of Indian converts and jealousy, which seems to have origi-

nated with Secretary Lewger, of estates held by mortmain in the province. On the other hand were papal decrees binding on all Catholics, which the Fathers affirmed, and a list of propositions was submitted to the Propaganda for discussion. There appears to have been danger at one time that not only would Mattapony be taken away, but other property was threatened; at least we must conclude so, from a transfer made by Thomas Copley this year to Cuthbert Fenwick of "all the land due him by conditions of transportation, which was laid out; four hundred acres of town land and four thousand of other land."⁽¹⁾ It was no uncommon thing at that time of attainder and *præmunire* thus to secure estates; the sharer in this transaction was one of whose fidelity there could be no doubt, Cuthbert Fenwick being one of the founders of Maryland whose devotion to the Catholic Church has never been denied. How long he held the property in trust is uncertain, but it was unknown, or had been re-transferred before Nov. 1643, when Lord Baltimore wrote to his commissioners, Giles Brent and Lewger, Leonard Calvert having then returned to England, "to rent Mr. Copley's house in St. Mary's City for Mr. Gilmett and his family who are about to come out, until midsummer, 1645, at a reasonable rent, to be paid from my revenues in Maryland, but not to be charged to pay anything here." This letter is dated "Bristol."

Thus Thomas Copley flits before us in the few memorials which have come down to us from early days; in "the records" as one deeply concerned in worldly affairs, bringing out servants, taking up land, owning houses, suing and being sued in the Courts of law. White and Altham came before him, Fisher, Poulton and Rigby were his fellow priests, but never once do they appear as his partners in any transaction. In the deeds and wills he emerges in his spiritual capacity. Hebden asks that "he will pray for his soul," and secures property to him and his successors, as does Governor Green. It is impossible to say at this day to what Father Copley owed his peculiar pre-eminence, whether it

⁽¹⁾ Annapolis Records.

was to his superior executive ability, or the high rank of his family and the immunity which his Spanish birth and the King's protection secured to him should questions arise ; surely a gentleman allied to the best blood in England had a right to hold lands and goods and to plant in my Lord Baltimore's plantation ; and who can prove that he hath taken Romish orders or entered into any forbidden association ? The latter points were so carefully concealed that no evidence of his profession being found, he was long thought to have been a layman employed to superintend the temporal interests of the Society ; he is spoken of in the Relation as "Coadjutor Copley," but St. Monica's chronicler, one of his sisters perhaps, states distinctly that he was a professed Father.

In December, 1643, William Copley of Gatton, the father of Thomas, was buried in the church of that place, aged seventy-nine. For thirty years he had been an exile and returned to England a man of forty, too late to throw off the impressions of other lands and to take on English habits. He seems never to have been happy ; and harassed in various ways, vainly sought relief from law. His last appeal is a petition to the King presented 1638. In this he sets forth that Anne, the widow of his son William, had at her death left Sir Richard Weston of Sutton Court, Surrey, guardian of her two daughters, Mary and Anne. Mary was already the wife of John, Sir Richard's eldest son, and Anne had just been contracted to a younger brother, though Sir Richard had promised faithfully she should never match with any younger son. "This engagement" the petitioner considers "an outrage which is like to result in the utter ruin of his family," and prays that the young couple may be sequestered and kept apart until the cause is decided, which was granted.

This young lady whose forgotten romance flickers dimly amidst prosaic state papers, ultimately became the wife of Nathanael Munshull and died childless. William Copley was the last male of that name who owned Gatton, which was then inherited by his oldest grand-daughter. His

widow, Margaret, lived at Leigh Place in which she had a life estate. Her first son, John, seems to have been in some way deficient; his death in 1662 is the only record of him in the Gatton register; the second son, Roger, soon after his father's death, perhaps through the intervention of his brother in Maryland, was placed at St. Omer's whence he went four years afterwards to study philosophy at Louvain. Whilst there, he, with Lord Carrington boarded at the Gatehouse of St. Monica's; they both obtained leave to help the sisters in the organ house, "Roger Copley being so skilled in music that he composed songs to the organ."⁽¹⁾

In 1645, Ingle, a Puritanical buccaneer, plundered St. Mary's City and the Mission of St. Inigoes, and carried Frs. White and Fisher to England where they were thrown into prison. They were tried two years afterwards on the usual charges, as Jesuits who had come into England to seduce the subjects of the commonwealth, but it being proved that they did not come, but were brought very much against their will, they were banished. In 1648 Father White was in Flanders and director of Margaret Mostyn who founded the Carmelite Convent at Lierre; he died in London in 1656 at a great age "in the house of a nobleman," probably that of Lord Baltimore. It is stated that Ingle also attacked Copley's house at Port Tobacco; this, however, seems doubtful; at any rate he and Rigby, who was his companion at that station, made their escape, probably across the river to the loyal province of Virginia, whence they might return whenever it was safe to minister to the spiritual needs of their own people, now, save for their assistance, entirely deprived of ghostly comfort. Gravener and Poulton and Knowles were dead, White and Fisher absent, and save these two there is not the slightest mention of the presence of any Jesuit priest in Maryland until three years afterwards.

In Virginia in 1646 died Roger Rigby, and towards the close of the year, Governor Leonard Calvert came to Maryland and re-established the authority of the Lord Proprietor, and with it peace and prosperity. Copley, doubtless, re-

⁽¹⁾ St. Monica's Chronicle.

turned with him and sought to bind together again the sheaves of the scattered harvest, in the sowing of which he had seen so many of his Order fall. He had soon to lament the death of a secular friend; in June, 1647, he, as the only priest in the colony, and the intimate friend of Margaret Brent, must have stood by Gov. Calvert's bed-side and administered to him the final rites; it was, doubtless, with that purpose that the by-standers were turned away from the room a little before his death, even professed Catholics being obliged to observe secrecy in the practice of observances for which priests and assistants might be called in question. Every historian of Leonard Calvert has stated that he was not married; there is, however, a tradition in the Brooke family, now one of the most extensive in the State, that he was, his only daughter, Mary, having been the wife of Baker Brooke. It is certain Cecil Lord Baltimore, in appointing him surveyor general of the province, designates him "our trusty and well-beloved nephew."⁽¹⁾ Margaret Brent is mentioned by some writers as Leonard Calvert's "relative;" she certainly was his executrix; may she not have been his sister-in-law? Leonard Calvert appointed, for his successor, Thomas Green, one of the Council, and a Catholic, who seems from a subsequent transaction to have been a friend of Father Copley and familiar with his career since his entrance in the province.

CHAPTER XV.

The Act of Toleration.

The civil war in England had now almost ended, and the condition of affairs there strongly affected those in Maryland; though Charles I, had found his most faithful adherents among the Catholics, a high authority, Hallam, stating "that out of five hundred gentlemen who fell on his side one third were of that faith," there were some who felt that the Stuarts deserved nothing at their hands, and remained neutral or supported the parliamentary party. And this sentiment

⁽¹⁾ Kelty's Land Owner's Assistant.

was increased when the deep duplicity of Charles to Lord Herbert, son of the brave old Marquis of Worcester, in regard to affairs in Ireland became known. After the King's execution, when anarchy seemed imminent, many of the Catholics were willing to exchange their support of Cromwell for a limited toleration. Sir Kenelm Digby conspicuous among them for his rare endowments of body and mind, who had lost a son and a brother in the royal army, was deputed by them to treat with the Lord Protector. To this very sensible party Lord Baltimore probably belonged; from his wife's connection with the Somersets, her sister having married Lord Herbert's brother, he must have long ago come to a true understanding of the character of Charles, for whose cause he appears not to have been fanatical; the old crusader, Arundell of Wardour, was now dead, and his son, as staunchly loyal, had fallen at Lansdowne; to both of these barons Baltimore owed debts contracted to advance the Maryland enterprise, but he was now freed from their influence, a new order of things was begun, and to pave the way for toleration at home he appointed as Governor of Maryland, William Stone, who was a member of the Established Church, but there being as yet no Puritan of note in the province, what better could be done? He, doubtless, acting under advice of the Lord Proprietor called an Assembly which passed on the 2d of April, 1649—"the Act for Toleration in Religion," the first legislative recognition of an idea which though it had dawned on some advanced minds long before, as best suited to the new condition of affairs, was not thoroughly accepted until a hundred and twenty-five years afterwards when it was promulgated in the great Declaration. Of the circumstances attending the framing of the remarkable document of toleration little is known. Kennedy, well informed in the history of his native State, says "the first act for toleration was penned by a Jesuit," and Davis has proved that it was passed by an Assembly, the majority of whose members were Catholics. Among imperfectly educated men, many of whom left Eng-

land very young, engaged in planting, hunting and building up a new country, there could have been few capable of drafting it. The thorough training of the Fathers, and the enterprise which must have furnished them a library as well as supplied them with a printing-press, made them the literary superiors of the other colonists, who, doubtless, often employed them in the capacity of clerks, as all clergymen were still thus designated in England, to draw up wills and other instruments, and recourse may have been had to them in the present case. Father Philip Fisher had obtained leave to return to Maryland, and had arrived a few days before the first of March, leaving his companion, Lawrence Starkie, in Virginia; Francis Derbyshire did not reach Maryland until after the adjournment of the Assembly. The honor, therefore, lies between Copley and Fisher, though it does not seem likely that one who had just arrived after a long journey, and who was ignorant of the questions which had sprung up in his absence would have been called upon. Copley was a man of high education and enlightened views, fully capable of expressing in a statesmanlike manner the principles entertained by his grandfather more than sixty years before. Indeed the Act seems but an embodiment of the opinions expressed by Sir Thomas Copley in his letters to Burleigh and Walsingham that "we, who believe in one God in three persons which is the principal foundation, should not persecute each other for matters of less importance wherein we may differ." The first clause in the Act of Toleration is a paraphrase of this expression, "they who shall deny our Lord Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, or shall deny the Holy Trinity, the Father, Son, or Holy Ghost, or the Godhead of any of the said three persons of the Trinity, or the unity of the Godhead shall be put to death." With this exception, it grants perfect liberty and equality to all Christian sects, even making the use of "papist, heretic, separationist, Brownist, etc.," as tending to create discussion, punishable by fine.

No people in the world had more reason to desire toleration than the English Catholics; ground, for more than

ninety years, between the upper and nether millstones of relentless persecution, the conviction⁽¹⁾ expressed by Father Parsons, "that neither breathing, nor the use of common ayre is more due to us all, than ought to be the liberty of conscience to Christian men, whereby each liveth to God and to himself" had come to many others, and at last found utterance in this act of Legislature, though its principles had been practised from the first foundation of the colony, as is proved by the case of Cornwalllys' servants in 1638.

On the 16th of August, 1650, Thomas Copley, Esq., made a demand for twenty thousand acres of land, ex-Governor Green certifying that he had transported at least sixty men into the province. This demand does not seem to have been complied with, and was probably made in consequence of the dispute about Mattapony, "King Macaquomen's gift," being re-opened. It may have been a part of some legal proceedings, or a proof of possession. For the same year there occurs "from William Lewis, constable," the person whom Copley had accused of "ill-governed zeal" twelve years before, "a return of articles seized for rent at St. Inigoes: "1 copper kettle of Mr. Copley's, 1 brass ladle, 4 brass ladles, 5 pewter plates, 1 pr. of great iron andirons, 5 doz. of thin glass tumblers in a box, six pictures, 1 leather chair, a chest of drawers. Left in the house 3 tables, all the bedsteads in the house belonging to Mr. Copley." The records show that Thomas Copley was one of the most prosperous men in the community; it could not have been for lack of means that he allowed the "disjecta membra" of the household goods of the Mission left from Ingle's raid, to be seized by the constable, but because he denied the justice of the debt. That he was at that time on good terms with the Protestant Governor Stone appears from the fact that not long before, Margaret Brent writing from Kent to that gentleman, acknowledges a letter received from him, "conveyed by Mr. Copley," whence it would appear that Father Copley now served that Mission.

⁽¹⁾ Judgement of a Catholic Englishman.

CHAPTER XVI.

Last Days.

Father Copley was defendant in a lawsuit tried at St. Mary's City, January 15th, 1651.⁽¹⁾ It appears that Richard Blount of Virginia had a servant, Nicholas White, who ran away and took refuge at St. Inigoes, and his master employed Henry De Courcy as his attorney to reclaim the fugitive and seek damages, for his detention, from Mr. Copley, as he had sent for him the preceding June, when he was not delivered up. Governor Stone testified that Mr. Copley had promised him that the servant should not be taken, until Dr. Taylor could be brought forward to prove that he had made an agreement with Blount for fifteen hundred pounds of tobacco. At the request of Mr. Copley "Ralph Crouch, Esq., testified that the servant was at the house when the chimney was on fire, which was the Grange house belonging to Mr. Copley, and further saith not." Whereupon Mr. Copley demanded a jury which was granted. They found that the servant was injuriously detained, and should be delivered up with one thousand pounds of tobacco in cask: harboring fugitive "redemptionists" was a question affecting a jury of planters in that most "sensitive part of the human anatomy, the pocket," and not to be overlooked either in priest or presiding officer. "Ralph Crouch,⁽²⁾ Esquire," was a member of the Society, of the date of whose arrival in the province and the length of whose stay nothing is known; he was alive in London in 1662.

Thomas Copley is then lost sight of for nearly two years; on the 4th of November, 1652, he binds himself to pay the debts of Paul Simpson, and Simpson makes over his property to Copley, Ralph Crouch signing as witness.

This is the last notice to be found of Father Copley in the

⁽¹⁾ Records at Annapolis, Liber 1.

⁽²⁾ He was born in Oxfordshire and went to Maryland, where he rendered great service to the Missionaries. He died at Liège in 1679, aged 59, a Temporal Coadjutor.

fragmentary papers that still exist at Annapolis; he is said to have died in 1652; the place of his burial is unknown. It was probably St. Inigoes, the oldest of the Missions. No stately monument befitting his high degree arose over him, no carved escutcheon bearing the black lion of Hoo, the sable and argent of Welles, or the golden welks of Shelley blazoned his descent from the fierce barons who fell at St. Alban's and Lowton Field,—only the black cross⁽¹⁾ which marks the grave of the humblest Christian, and which, strangely enough, was the device of his own family, for a while showed his resting-place; it mouldered away; in spring the wild violets spread azure over him, and the autumn shed leaves of red and gold; the mocking-bird built in the boughs over his head and the partridge hid her young in the grass at his feet; thus he lies forgotten by men, but living, let us hope, in a better life, and living in his works, which yet remain to us. When the Society of Jesus was suppressed in 1773, Maryland reverencing her founders respected their possessions, so that on the restoration of the Order a few aged priests lingering within the walls of St. Inigoes and St. Thomas' Manor⁽²⁾ were left to murmur "nunc dimittis," and to transmit those estates, the sole remnant of the great establishments which once arose in every quarter of the globe, to their present possessors.

Both Gatton and Leigh Grange of the Copley estates were sequestered during the Commonwealth as the prop-

⁽¹⁾ The arms of Copley were Argent, a cross, moline, sable. Fr. Copley's pedigree was a distinguished one, running back to Thomas Hoo, Lord Hoo and Hastings, K. G., who was killed at St. Alban's in 1455, to Lord Welles, killed at Lowton, 1461, to Sir William Shelley, to Sir Roger Copley, citizen and mercer of London. The Copleys were related to Lord Bacon, to Cecil, to the Southwells, etc. What remains of the old estates has descended to Henry Francis Salvin, Esquire, a Catholic, of Sutton Court near Guilford, Surrey, England.

⁽²⁾ The parish church of the Manor of the Maze, a large estate in Southwark very near the Thames, and possessed by the Copleys from about the middle of the fifteenth century, was named "St. Thomas"; perhaps, Father Copley transferred the old name to the new Mission and Manor of St. Thomas which he founded in Maryland.—A new church, under the invocation of St. Edward was built in 1876 at Sutton Park, which is now, as we said before, the property of Mr. Salvin.

erty of Catholic recusants and were sold by the family in 1655. Roger Copley had married, and seems, for a time, to have lingered near the old place, the burial of four of his children being recorded in the register of Gatton between 1658 and 1672; after this date the name no longer appears. He is supposed to have been the father of Wm. Copley, S. J., who was born in 1668 and took his last vows in 1698, labored in Warwickshire and died in 1727. There seem to have been another priest and three nuns, two Benedictines and a Poor Clare, at Gravelines, who, perhaps, belonged to this family. In 1714 Henrietta Copley, a Catholic widow, was possessed of property valued at fifty pounds near St. Olive's, Southwark, and in 1721 Henry Copley, the son of Don John Copley and Mary Conquest, born at St. Germain's in 1705, entered the English College, Rome: "he had been educated at St. Omer's and was ordained in 1728."

Twenty-five years ago there existed in St. Mary's County, Maryland, a class of poor whites, who, lived mostly by fishing; among them were Copleys and Gattons, both races remarkable for handsome faces and aristocratic bearing; it may be they were the descendants of the ancient lords of the Manor of Gatton in Surrey.

ERRATA.

Page 59, line 2, for More *read* Morse. Page 60, line 12 from bottom, *read* Henry More, who had been in prison and died afterwards at Watten.

NOTES TO PAGE 46.

The preceding pages show the heroism of the Copleys. Grandfather, father, sons, daughters, and those allied to the house by the ties of blood or marriage, are revealed to us as staunch in the faith and, if need be, sacrificing fortune and life for conscience' sake. And this was their history for generations. Still there were some degenerate sons; Anthony and John Copley, uncles of Father Thomas, come before us as the unworthy offspring of heroic lines. We give what we have been able to gather concerning their history as tending to throw some light upon the difficulties the Catholics had to encounter in clinging to the religion which they held so dear, and which was rendered immeasurably sacred by the blood of the martyrs around them.

We will now return to the black sheep Anthony, who, before 1592, had gone back to England; he seems to have been one of those men who conceal under a frank exterior, great duplicity. Richard Topcliffe, the notorious informer, on the arrest of Southwell in 1593 wrote to the Queen: "Young Anthony Copley, the most desperate youth that liveth, hath most familiarity with Southwell. Copley did shoot at a gentleman last summer and did kill an ox with a musket, and in Horsham church threw his dagger at the parish clerk and stuck it in a seat in the church; there liveth not the like I think in England for sudden attempts; nor is there one upon whom I have good grounds to have more watchful eyes for his sister Gage's and his brother-in-law Gage's sake, of whose pardon he boasteth he is assured." After this letter Topcliffe, having license of the Queen, took Southwell to his own house and tortured him. From this it appears that Anthony Copley's previous perfidy was unknown to this contemporary scoundrel; let us hope he had not exchanged the life of his sister for that of his cousin and benefactor.

From Douce's Illustrations of Shakspeare it would seem that Anthony Copley had literary aspirations. In 1595 he published "Witts, Fittes, and Fancies," consisting of sayings, jests and anecdotes in part translated from a Spanish work entitled "La Floretta Spagnola," at the end of which was printed a poem by him called "Love's Owle, in a dialogne wise betweene Love and an Olde Man," of which he thus speaks in his dedication: "As for my Love's Owle I am content that Momus turne it to a tennis ball if he can, and bandy it quite away; namely I desire M. Daniel, M. Spencer and other Prime Poets of our time to pardon it with as easy a frowne as they please, for that I give them to understand that an University muse never penned it, though humbly devoted thereto." This book was reprinted in 1614 without his name. In 1596 he published "A Fig for Fortune." From Collier's account he seems to have been as bad a poet as he was a man. He married, and seems to have lived at Raughley, a moated mansion, in Surrey, which had descended to his family from the Hoos, and not far distant from Horsham church, mentioned by Topcliffe, in which is still a beautiful tomb to the last Lord Hoo and Hastings killed in the wars of the Roses.

In the latter part of Elizabeth's reign the most unfortunate dissensions had arisen among the Catholics. An archpriest, Dr. George Blackwell, having been appointed by the Pope, a number of priests who were opposed to such an office, sought his dismissal, and appealing to Rome for that purpose, they were called "Appellants." There was also great ill-feeling between the Seminarians and the Regulars, which is said to have been encouraged at Wisbech, a prison where many of both kinds were confined, by Elizabeth who remembered, perhaps, that "a house divided against itself shall not stand." The adversaries of the Jesuits accusing the Order of being "hispanolized," pointed to Robert Parson's book on the Succession, in which he avowed the doctrine, that kings derived their right from the will of the governed. Both Regulars and Seminarians accused each other of furnishing information to the government.

One of the most active of the appellant priests was Watson, nephew of the Bishop of Lincoln, the last survivor of that hierarchy which had come down from St. Austin. Watson was a strong supporter of the claims of James to the crown; had visited him before Elizabeth's death and received from him strong assurances of indulgence for the Catholics should he become King of England. In the quarrel with the Jesuits Watson published a book called "*Quod libet*" which happily no man now living has ever read; his friend and supporter, Anthony Copley, rushed into print, with what we would term a pamphlet, the name of which we have been unable to discover; intimate with these two was a secular priest named Clarke, who with them cherished high hopes of a happy future under James. Their disappointment was very great when they discovered what his real intentions were, or rather what were the designs of Cecil who had obtained entire influence over him. Watson who had a true appreciation of his character, gained, perhaps, while in Scotland,—"*if I hae Jocko by the collar I can gar him bite you*"—thought that if the Catholics would seize him they could control him, and it would not be treason, because he had not yet been crowned! He, with his two intimate friends already mentioned, with Sir Griffith Mackham and a few other Catholics, in the summer of 1613 formed a little plot of their own inside of a larger Protestant one, in which were engaged Sir Walter Raleigh, Lord Cobham, Lord Grey of Wilton, a strong Puritan, and others; at least Sir Edward Coke so described it; and he should have known, for he was learned in plots. "The Main," or Protestant conspirators, were to carry off the king, "the Bye," or Catholics, were to take him from them; if the two knew each others' designs, and if so, how they reconciled their conflicting views, I cannot tell. *and* to the fact that anything of the kind was contemplated is known only to the all-seeing eye. Such a charge, however, served Cecil's turn. The accused gentlemen were arrested, examined—and⁽¹⁾ Anthony Copley, after his usual fashion, at once told all and probably a great deal more than he knew: to us it seems incredible that men should have incurred the fearful penalties of treason in the reckless way he describes. To know the character of this man, in which the swash-buckler and the pedant seem to have met in equal proportions, it is only necessary to read his confession given in his own handwriting to the Lords of the Privy Council on the 14th of July. In it he tells how he rode to London and visited Watson in his chambers at Westminster, who offered him an oath which he took without question: on which Watson informed him that a supplication was offered to the King, and that it was not

(1) Confession in appendix to Dodd's Hist. of the Church.

granted; "the more mettled spirits had a recourse which he declined to explain," as "the course was rough and not thoroughly tried," deferring fuller information until his next visit. Copley was, however, perfectly satisfied, "giving him his hand and Catholic promise to be seen as far as any man," and promising to bring up as many resolute men as he could, he departed to the country. On the 21st of June he again visited Watson who said he expected "many tall men on the 23d" and desired to know how many Copley had brought, who said "not one, for I know never a Catholic near me for several miles who is not Jesuited." They spent the evening in talking of cutting off heads, to which Copley says he was opposed, and of getting the great seal, of which the bloody-minded Watson was to be keeper in the event of their success.

The next morning Copley called on his sister, Mrs. Gage, taking two of his books and a letter which he had written to the arch-priest "to reconcile himself to the main body of Catholics," which documents seem to have been sent through her—it was not the least of Blackwell's sufferings if he read them! Going back to Watson's chamber, Copley found Sir Griffith Markham there and they discussed the capture of James "either by day or night" at Greenwich, Copley offering "to be one of thirty men to take him from five hundred." They also considered how he should be converted when once in their hands, "whether by disputation, exorcism of those possessed of the devil, or trial by battle." In case the latter were decided on, Watson asked, "Who amongst us will be the gallant Machabee to take that trial on himself?" to which Copley replied: "Doubt ye not, sir, enough will be found, or, if all failed, rather than so fair a ball should fall to the ground, I myself would be the man; provided if it might be without scandal to the Church upon the canon of the Council of Trent to the contrary of all duellums, if I choose the weapon, not doubting but that my wife, who by the sacrament of matrimony is individually interested in my person, would, she being a Catholic and the cause so much God's, quit at my request, such her interest, for the times; and not doubting to find among the host of heaven that blessed queen, his Majesty's mother, at my elbow at that hour."

The next day was Corpus Christi, and these men with their lives at stake concluded to do nothing until it was over, or as Copley expressed it, they determined "to feriate" in its honor; so they parted, he going to Mrs. Gage's where he discoursed a long time about the discontents of the Catholics, boasting of what his party would do to remedy these evils, wishing that the other side, as having more men and greater purse, would join them. He blamed Mrs. Gage for her remissness in the common cause, which he attributed to the influence of the Jesuits, "of which," said he, "she took no notice." It may be that Margaret Gage's thoughts were with one of that Order whom her brother seemed to have forgotten, one who had been the companion of their childhood; that she saw the gaping crowd, the gibbet tree, the loved face fitted by suffering borne here to wear the martyrs crown hereafter, then the bitter agony, the kindred blood flowing and the noble heart quivering in the hangman's hands. Knowing her brother as she must, and probably deeply mistrusting him, her silence was golden, but it must have tried her soul. That evening the conspirators heard that warrants were out for them; on the next the expected "tall men" made their appearance, filling the hall and gathering about the door of Watson's apartments, but only a handful; Clarke came in, worn with riding, hopeless and blaming the Jesuits. Then

Watson flinched and told the gentlemen they had as well break off and go home.

Anthony Copley, knowing that his road was barred, concealed himself until Saturday night, when he crept to his sister's, but she, with tears streaming down her cheeks, told him her husband had been arrested, her house was no place for him, and shut the door in his face. He then gave himself up. On his testimony principally, Clarke and Watson were hung; he and Markham received the same sentence, afterwards commuted to banishment, most likely with the understanding "they should divulge some worthy matter." This was an old trade of Anthony Copley, and Markham became an intelligeneer for Cecil at the Court of the Duke of Nuremberg who took pity on him in his exile.

The last record found of Anthony Copley is 1606 when he dined at the English hospital in Rome; he had a companion who entered the name of "Robert Southwell of Norfolk." Anthony had the effrontery to remain here with the Jesuits from January until April. Gage of Haling was also found guilty, perhaps only of listening to the nonsense of his brother-in-law without revealing it, and was again condemned to death, but subsequently pardoned. Treason was, however, an expensive luxury, and though pardons were purchasable, the courtiers who obtained them required large "gratifications." We find that Lady Copley sold her life estate in Mersham Park in 1603, the year her son and son-in-law were condemned to death, and that William Copley aliened the same manor at that time, the price going to some Scottish favorite of the King, who had, perhaps, used his influence in obtaining pardon for Anthony and others.

The history of John Copley, another uncle of Father Thomas, is also a disgraceful one by the side of the glorious record of the family. In my reading I have come across the following facts: Lady Copley had been able to obtain the discharge of her chaplain, Nicholas Smith, and sent her youngest son John, under his care, to the continent, with whom he went from one Jesuit school to another, until, attempting with some other students to reach Spain by sea, he was captured and brought to England, but set at liberty on giving bail; either he or his brother Anthony was probably the "Mr. Copley, the Earl of Cumberland's servant," who in 1594 "corresponded with Donna Magdalena Copley." In 1599 he made the following entry at the English College in Rome: (1) "I was born at Louvain and I am twenty-two years old; nine days after my birth I was sent to England where I was nursed and brought up until my ninth year. I then went to Liège on my mother's leaving England and remained there a year with her. On her then returning to England I was sent to Douay where Father Nicholas Smith took charge of me, my mother having committed me to his care. When Father Smith became a Jesuit, he sent me to Valencia where, after spending a half year in grammar, he again called me to Douay. I was placed in the English College and studied syntax for a year and then, when the College of St. Omer's was erected, in 1593, Fr. Smith was made minister and summoned me thither, where I made my poetry and commenced rhetoric. I was then sent by superiors with Fr. Baldwin and other students to Spain by way of Cadiz, viz: with William Worthington, John Iverson, Thomas Garnett, James Thompson, and Henry Montpesson. All of us were captured at sea by the English fleet and taken to England. I alone was separated from the rest and sent to the Bishop of Lon-

(1) Foley's Records of the Eng. Province—Series 1st,

don, but was released on some friend going bail that I would not leave the kingdom.

"I was my own master during this time and spent it in worldly pleasure, hunting, society and such like vanities. My father was Baron de Hoo and Lord Thomas de Gaton; my mother was of the family of Lutterel. I have two brothers and four sisters; the third of whom married Mr. John Gage, and, with her husband, was condemned to death after an imprisonment of two years on account of a certain priest who sometimes said Mass in their house and was afterwards a martyr.

"They were both carried in a cart with their hands bound, but she received a letter on the scaffold respiting them. Neither she nor her husband was pardoned or restored by the Queen, and Baron Charles Howard of Effingham took possession of John Gage's estate which he this day possesses by the Queen's gift.

"I have a Catholic uncle, Mr. Gage of Fille in Sussex. Mr. Geo. Cottam, Mr. de Lides (de Sevyss), Mr. de Price, Mr. Skinner, Mr. Cryps, a part of the family of Southwell profess the Catholic faith. Father Robert Southwell, martyr, was a relative on part of my father's sister. My Protestant relations on my father's side are Lanes, Sidneys, Howards and Hungerfords; on my mother's, Lutterels, Windsors, Sugers, Warwicks, Cliffords, Mallets and Stuckleys. When a boy with Mr. Southwell, my uncle, I went sometimes to the Protestant church, but I was not then responsible. I was brought up from the age of seven in the Catholic faith." He then expresses a desire to become a priest and there is strong reason to believe he became one. Foley says that though the Pilgrim book says he was admitted to the scholar's habit there is no record in the Diary; however, in a list of priests confined in Newgate in 1606, after the Gunpowder Plot, is the name of John Copley with that of Andrew White and John Altham, afterwards fellow priests of his nephew in Maryland. In 1612 he is found as a Protestant clergyman and rector of Blethensden in Kent presented by Abbot, the Archbishop of Canterbury; which position he resigned to become rector of Puckley in the same county, where he seems to have been always in trouble with the Lord of the Manor, Sir Edward Dering, who as late as 1614 speaks of his "enrichness" and "face," as may be seen in the Memoir of this Lord by the Camden Publication Society.

There is no doubt of the identity of the pupil of the Jesuits with the clergyman of the Established Church: the visitation of Surrey by Berry, taken in 1623, records him as "John, son of Sir Thomas Copley of Gaton, of Puckley, Kent, aged 40, and married to—Moone, whilst his position as rector of that place is to be found in Halsted's county history and in the Archives of Canterbury. There seemed, at one time, no prospect of discovering the circumstances which induced John Copley to take a step at once at variance with his early teachings and the traditions of his family. Discontent shared with his brother Anthony, or consideration of the strong argument furnished by years of imprisonment endured for his priesthood in Newgate, and the comfort of a Kent living for conformity, might have had weight with him, as it had with other unheroic souls; however, a passage in a letter from Sir Dudley Carlton to Sir Thomas Edmunds, London, Jan. 29th, 1611, explains his conduct: "One Copley, a priest and domestical chaplain to the Lord Montague, falling in love with an ancient Catholic maid there, that attended the children, they have both left their profession and fallen to marriage." Neill quite strangely confounds this apostate with Fr. Thomas Copley of Maryland,

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